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PAPERS

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

PAPERS

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

VOLUME XVII

(NEW SERIES, VOLUME IV)

1949

PUBLISHED BY THE
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME AT 1, LOWTHER
GARDENS, EXHIBITION ROAD, LONDON, S.W.7

BIBL.
LONDIN.
UNIV.

Printed in Great Britain
BY RICHARD CLAY AND COMPANY, LTD.
BUNGAY, SUFFOLK

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SOME BUCCHERO VASES FROM ARDEA

THE objects described below were found near Ardea in Latium during the digging of a gun-position in June 1944. The site was in a valley bottom about one mile SSE of the modern town, and the area dug was an L-shaped trench two feet wide and with arms four feet and six feet long. Unfortunately military duties prevented continuous observation,[1] but the following points are clear. Work began on the shorter arm of the trench; and there were found sherds of bucchero and of coarse wares (nos. 10, 11, 23–26, 28, 29), and a 'red pot' which was removed and lost. Three days later, digging was resumed and yielded first a bucchero cup (no. 15) and oinochoe (no. 9), then sherds of coarse brownish ware (no. 27), and farther on at a depth of two and a half feet two bucchero oinochoai (nos. 7, 8). Next day three bucchero amphoriskoi (nos. 12–14) were found still farther on in the same section of trench. An offset trench was then started to the right, with a depth of two and a half to three feet. In this offset were found six alabastra (nos. 1–6), all lying together, and close to them two bucchero cups (nos. 16, 17); a little beyond were two bucchero kantharoi (nos. 21, 22); nothing else had been found when orders to advance put an end to the work. Apart from the pottery no objects were observed, nor any traces of structures or of discoloration in the soil.

The site is probably that of a grave or graves. The terrain is too badly drained to be suitable for building; and the pots found seem generally to have been complete, though (as the breaks show) some fragments were not picked up by the working party. The alabastra (nos. 1–6), two of the cups (nos. 16, 17), and the pair of kantharoi (nos. 21, 22) should go together: if the remaining items are from another grave, it was probably of about the same date, as the comparison of the cups suggests. The list of finds is as follows.[2]

Corinthian (no. 1) and Italo-Corinthian (nos. 2–6).

1. Alabastron: ht. 6·6, d. 3·9. Lion and bull. Pl. *Id.* About 640–635 B.C. (beginning of Transitional phase): another alabastron by the same hand but apparently rather earlier was, as Mr. T. J. Dunbabin informs us, found at Perachora (to be published in *Perachora* ii, no. 1503). See Postscript, p. 4.

2. Alabastron: ht. 12·7, d. 6·5. Dots: subgeometric dogs. Pl. *Ic.* Near 600 B.C.

3. Alabastron: ht. 12·2, d. 6·4. Decoration and date as no. 2.

4. Alabastron: ht. 11·7, d. 6·5. Dots. Pl. *Ib.* Near 600 B.C.

5. Alabastron (now lost). Generally similar to nos. 2–4.

6. Alabastron: ht. (as preserved) 5·0, d. 4·0: the upper part is missing. Banded. Pl. *Ia.* Late seventh century.

No. 1 is an admirable piece of Corinthian of the very beginning of Payne's Transitional period. Nos. 2–4 are in shape and style faithful reproductions of the next phase of Corinthian pottery (Early Ripe); their greater size suggests a date near the end of that phase; the fine clay, buff tending to pink in the core,

[1] I was present when nos. 1–6, 7, 15, 16–17, 21–22 were found, and examined the trench then and at other times. Between my visits the sergeant kept notes and made some careful drawings. C.B.R.B.

[2] These pots, except for nos. 3, 5, 14 and 30, are now in the Museum of Classical Archæology in Cambridge. Dimensions are given in centimetres. The photographs reproduced here were very kindly taken by Dr. H. Bloesch. For the mending of the pots we are indebted to Mr. R. Johnson.

is more lack-lustre than true Corinthian. No. 5 presumably goes with these three. Of no. 6 shape and decoration have an un-Corinthian flavour, but the clay is clearer in tone than nos. 2–4. *Cf.* to nos. 2 and 3 *CVA Louvre* 9, pl. 605.16, seemingly by the same hand: to no. 4 *ibid.* pl. 601.10: to no. 6 *ibid.* pl. 601.25.

Bucchero.

The clay of all these pieces is a very dark grey with fine specks of mica. A fine coat of glossy black seems to have covered the exposed surfaces—inside the necks of oinochoai and amphoriskoi it reaches down for 1.5 centimetres or so.[3]

7. Oinochoe: ht. (as preserved) 14·0, d, 9·1: a drawing made at the time of finding shows that the ribbon-handle, now missing, projected considerably to the back. Pl. II*d*.

8. Oinochoe: ht. (as preserved) 13·3, d. 8·7: the handle and part of the lip and neck are missing. Shape as no. 7.

Cf. F. Magi in *La Raccolta Benedetto Guglielmi*, Citta del Vaticano, 1939, i, nos. 57–60; *Not. Scav.* 1935, 350, fig. 21*l* (from a chamber-tomb at Veii, which also contained an amphoriskos, a cup, and two kantharoi similar to ours). These oinochoai have incised patterns, ours are plain.

9. Oinochoe: ht. (as preserved) 19·4, d. 12·4: a few fragments are missing which include the front part of lip and neck: broad ribbon-handle. Groups of 5–7 incised lines encircle the body below the angle of the shoulder and above the angle of the base. Pl. II*e*.

Oinochoai of this heavier type are common in the sixth century, but have generally handles of more developed forms and more rounded bodies: *cf.* Magi, *op. cit.* no. 61, etc.

10. Fragments of oinochoe: smaller than no. 9. The shape of the body and the decoration (if any) cannot be recovered.

11. Fragments of oinochoe: similar to no. 9 in size, shape of body, and decoration.

12. Amphoriskos of Villanovan shape: ht. 10·7, d. 7·9. Pl. II*f*.

13. Amphoriskos of Villanovan shape: ht. 10·2, d. 7·4. Shape as no. 12.

14. Amphoriskos of Villanovan shape: ht. 9·8, d. 7·2. Shape as no. 12.

Cf. Not. Scav. 1935, 350, fig. 21*g* (grave at Veii: see above under no. 8). Earlier shapes are more pot-bellied. *Cf.* also the 'olpai' with a single high handle (several from Magliano in contexts generally of the end of the seventh century: the closest to our amphoriskoi are *St. Etr.* ix, pls. 4.1 (le Ficaie grave 1, with Italo-Corinthian of the late seventh century) and 5.14, of which the context is not recorded).

15. Cup: d. (at lip) about 18·0, ht. 8·5: most of one side is missing. On the outside, three groups of 3–5 incised lines encircle the bowl. Shape similar to no. 16, but rather shallower.

16. Cup: d. (at lip) 12·8, ht. 6·9: about one third is missing. Round the outside, two groups of 4–5 incised lines. Pl. II*b*.

17. Cup: d. (at lip) 11·7, ht. 6·6: one handle is missing. Round the outside, two groups of 3 incised lines. Pl. II*a*.

18. Cup: d. (at lip) about 13·7, ht. about 8·2: about two thirds are missing. Shape as nos. 16 and 17. Round the outside, two groups of 4–5 incised lines.

19. Cup: d. (at lip) about 15·0, ht. about 8·5: about half is missing. Shape as nos, 16 and 17. Round the outside, a group of 3–5 incised lines near the top of the bowl; the lower part of the bowl is missing.

Cf. Magi, *op. cit.* no. 3; J. Boehlau, *Jb. d. Arch. Inst.* 1900, 181–5, fig. 23.5—one of eight from Pitigliano grave XXIII, which also contained four kantharoi (e.g. fig. 23.1) of the same shape as ours and Italo-Corinthian of the end of the seventh century; *Mon. Ant.* iv, fig. 155—from grave 14 at Monte Soriano (Narce); *Not. Scav.* 1935, 350, fig. 21*f*. (grave at Veii: see above under no. 8); *St. Etr.* ix, pl. 2, third of bottom row (from Magliano, Poggio Volpaio grave 4, which included six kantharoi and four chalices similar in shape to ours and also Italo-Corinthian of the late seventh century).

20. Of a few unassigned fragments two cannot belong to any of the pots described here separately: (*a*) lower part of bowl of another cup, with a group of 6 incised lines outside; (*b*) a small fragment of an incurved rim, from a kotyle (?).

21. Kantharos: d. (including handles) 15·9, ht. (including handles) 9·5. Pl. II*c*.

22. Kantharos: d. (including and restoring handles) 15·1, ht. (including handles) 9·0: one handle and part of the foot are missing. Shape as no. 21.

[3] Presumably this coat is a finer, peptised solution of the clay of which the pot itself is made: hence its sheen and darker tone.

Cf. Magi, *op. cit.*, no. 28; K. M. T. Atkinson, *Papers BSR* xiv, 116–9, where a list is given.[4]

23. Chalice: d. (at lip) about 14·0: surviving fragments come from lip and underside of bowl. Round the outside of the lip a group of three broadish grooves.

Chalices of this size, shape, and decoration are common, and generally have a low foot. *Cf.* Magi, *op. cit.*, no. 4; Boehlau, *Jb. d. Arch. Inst.* 1900, 187, fig. 29.2—one of seven from Pitigliano grave III (comparison with the dimensions of other pots of the illustration shows that it is the diameters, not the heights, that are 13·3–15·0: other items were six kantharoi and Italo-Corinthian of about 600 B.C.); *Mon. Ant.* iv, 451–3, fig. 156—two specimens from the equipment of one of the two interments in grave 7 at Monte Soriano (Narce), which also included two kantharoi as our nos. 21 and 22 and an oinochoe resembling, except for its shorter neck, our no. 9; E. H. Dohan, *Italic Tomb-Groups*, Philadelphia, 1942, pl. 41.16—from grave 65 M at Narce, which contains Italo-Corinthian of round 600 B.C. as well as an Attic b.f. lekythos of about 540 B.C.; *St. Etr.* ix, from Magliano, Poggio Volpaio grave 4 (pl. 2, four examples in last three rows); grave 5 (pl. 1, nine examples in last three rows); grave 7 (pl. 3, first, fourth and sixth of bottom row); le Ficaie grave 2 (pl. 4.4, 5, 7, 8)—for all these graves see n. 4.

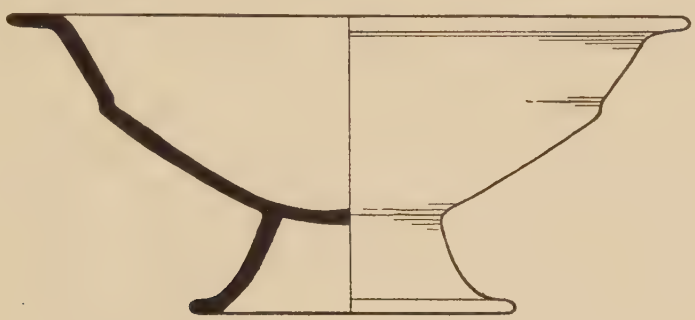

FIG. 1—COARSE DISH, no. 25. *c.* ½

Red Ware.

24. Bowl: d. about 23·0, ht. perhaps round 24·0: fragments survive from lip and upper part of body, allowing a complete profile so far, and from near the middle of the lower part of the body. The clay is buff to red, and gritty; the outside at least was coated with a finer orange-red. The outward curve of the body from the lip is not strong. On the body near the top is a ridge, next stamped circles containing apparently palmettes, then vertical flutes which did not reach below the middle of the lower part. Pl. I*e*.

Cf. Dohan, *op. cit.* pl. 40.1—from grave 21 at Narce, also with stamped circles on the shoulder (the bowls, also from Narce, pl. 25.2, pl. 33.2, pl. 38.2, in some respects similar, appear to be older, as also the bowl from the Bocchoris tomb at Tarquinii, illustrated by D. Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, pl. 31.9).

Coarser Wares.

25. Dish: d. 18·4, ht. 8·1: half the bowl is missing. The clay varies from buff to red and dark grey, and is coarse. The surface was completely covered with a thick dark brown paint. Fig. 1.

[4] Though the shape may go back to about 625 B.C., Atkinson's date for the two graves from Selinus which she publishes (one contained four of these kantharoi) is too high and should be corrected to early sixth century (see *JHS* 1946, 73 n. 55; and T. J. Dunbabin, *Papers, BSR* xvi, 19–23). Two more kantharoi of this group from the Katharsis grave at Rheneia, that is from Delos, are in Mykonos. From Corinth there are now four (*Corinth* vii. 1, nos. 310–311, pl. 37; *Hesperia* 1948, 227 no. D. 68, pl. 83), all from wells of the end of the seventh century. Of the two kantharoi from Motya quoted by Atkinson one seems rather to be a cup like ours. Add also several examples from Magliano published in *St. Etr.* ix,—Poggio Volpaio grave 1 (pl. 1, third of second row: with Italo-Corinthian of the late seventh century); grave 4 (pl. 2, six examples in the last three rows: see above under no. 19); grave 5 (pl. 1, first and last of bottom row: with nine chalices); grave 6 (pl. 3, third of second row: with Italo-Corinthian of the later seventh century—it is not clear from the text whether the bucchero chalice first of the top row belongs to this grave); grave 7 (pl. 3, first and last of fifth row: with three chalices and an Italo-Corinthian olpe); le Ficaie grave 2 (pl. 4.10: with four chalices and Italo-Corinthian hardly earlier than 600 B.C.). Fragments in (Ithaca *BSA* xliii, 103, no. 601, pl. 45) may be from a similar kantharos.

26. Dish: slightly wider than no. 25, but similar in shape, clay, and paint: most of the rim and part of the bowl survive.

27. Dish: rather smaller than no. 25, and coarser in shape, clay, and paint: fragmentary.

28. Fragments of neck and body of largish closed pot: wall thin. The clay is buff to pink and not fine. The outside is covered with brown paint and has incised decoration—on the neck a horizontal zigzag, on the shoulder large spirals and grouped vertical lines.

29. Fragments of body and upper attachment of handle of largish closed pot. It has a thicker wall than no. 28, but seems to have been similar in shape, clay, paint, and decoration: incised lines ran down the handle.

30. 'Red pot' of which no details are known (see above p. 1).

A date for this deposit can be obtained from the Corinthian and Italo-Corinthian alabastra, the latest of which belong to the last years of the seventh century or even the beginning of the sixth, and by their condition seem to have been new when buried: no. 1, the finest piece in this collection and probably the only distant import, would by then have been a generation old. The bucchero points, though less precisely, to the same date around 600 B.C.

The group of bucchero kantharoi, to which our specimens belong,[5] has been much discussed. P. Orsi held that they were made in Etruria, and this is probably generally accepted; but Grenier claimed them for Bologna, and K. M. T. Atkinson preferred Greek Sicily.[6] The verdicts against Etruscan manufacture arise perhaps from an incomplete survey of the material: these kantharoi are not a separate class of bucchero and should not be considered in isolation. Our two kantharoi from Ardea (nos. 21 and 22) cannot in fabric be distinguished from the other bucchero pots found with them,[7] except perhaps, because of its thicker walls, the chalice no. 23; and the bucchero in the Etruscan graves cited for comparison appears generally to belong to the same class. There is, indeed, in the shapes a considerable Greek influence, patent in the cups but discernible also in the tauter profiles of the small oinochoai and the amphoriskoi —Etruria was receptive of Greek influence; but for an Etruscan origin there speak the Villanovan form, the technique, and the distribution. The number of published examples of this class that are known to have been found in Etruria may, as Atkinson observes of the kantharoi, be small: such plain pots were no doubt thought not worth an illustration. It is harder to believe that some Greek factory in Sicily turned out bucchero, but sold only kantharoi in Greek markets.[8]

R. M. Cook,
C. B. R. Butchart.

[5] K. M. T. Atkinson, who has seen our examples, kindly tells us that the similarity extends to the clay.

[6] Orsi, *Not. Scav.* 1925, 181; Grenier, *Bologne Villanovienne et Étrusque*, 245, 250; Atkinson, *Papers BSR* xiv, 118. Orsi's and Atkinson's references to Ducati are, we think, mistaken.

[7] Note also the characteristic section of the foot of both cup and kantharos.

[8] With Atkinson's list of kantharoi (*Papers BSR* xiv 116–9: see also above n. 4) compare the lists of bucchero and other exports from Etruria compiled by P. Jacobsthal and E. Neuffer, *Préhistoire* ii, 45–8, and by G. Karo, 'Εφημ. 1937, 316–20. For Etruscan influence in Greece see besides Karo the observations of J. D. Beazley, *JHS* 1929, 40–1: note also T. J. Dunbabin, *JHS* 1944, 80.

Postscipt (to p. 1, no. 1).

Mr. Dunbabin further tells us of two other alabastra by the 'Ardea painter', which H. G. G. Payne and R. J. Hopper respectively connected with the Perachora pot:—Winchester (Payne, *Necrcorinthia*, 274, no. 70; pl. 16.1) and Syracuse (*ib.*, no. 71). The Winchester pot looks later than ours.

POENA LEGIS REPETUNDARUM

ACCORDING to Mommsen the various laws *de repetundis*, from the Lex Acilia of the Gracchan period to the Lex Iulia of 59 B.C., never attached any heavier political penalty to the offence than *infamia*, with consequent exclusion from the Senate, and the exile of those condemned for extortion was solely due to the difficulty of repayment.[1] Mommsen also held that the penalty of twofold restitution introduced by the Lex Acilia was abandoned by the Sullan Lex Cornelia in favour of the simple repayment established by the original Lex Calpurnia of 149 B.C. Only during the Julio-Claudian principate and later were severe penalties in the form of *relegatio* and *exilium* inflicted in special circumstances (*extra ordinem*) by the authority of the senatorial court and not by any remodelling of the Lex Iulia, which continued to inflict only the lesser penalties.

This general doctrine has caused considerable uneasiness for three reasons. First, there is an apparent contradiction between Mommsen's view and two statements of Cicero, which assert that the penalties for extortion were increased in severity by successive laws.[2] Second, Cicero constantly speaks in cases of extortion, whether as prosecutor or in defence, as though the *caput* of the accused were at stake.[3] Third, the apparently invariable retirement of the condemned into exile, with consequent loss of citizenship—which at this time was a voluntary act and not a penalty inflicted by the State—is very remarkable if the *caput* of the offender was not affected by the sentence of the court.[4] Yet this uneasiness led to no revolt against Mommsen's doctrine, for the good reason that most of the explicit evidence does tend to support Mommsen. With the publication of the fifth of the Augustan edicts from Cyrene, however, fresh evidence appeared concerning the penalties for extortion, and Stroux deduced from a certain phrase that, contrary to Mommsen's belief, the Lex Iulia introduced the capital penalty for this offence. But the phrase concerned is ambiguous in its context, and Stroux's view has not found general favour.

[1] The main discussion of the general history of the extortion law are: C. T. Zumpt, *De legibus iudiciisque repetundarum in Republica Romana commentationes duae* (Berlin, 1845), and *Commentatio Tertia* (Berlin, 1847); Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht* (Leipzig, 1899) pp. 705–32. J. L. Strachan-Davidson, *Problems of the Roman Criminal Law* (Oxford, 1912), vol. II, ch. XIV, criticises Mommsen's view of the death penalty. The new evidence for the penalty of the Lex Iulia contained in the fifth Augustan edict from Cyrene is discussed by A. von Premerstein, 'Die fünf neugefundenen Edikte des Augustus aus Kyrene', *Zeitschrift d. Sav.-Stift.*, r.a., 48, 1928, 480–516; J. Stroux and L. Wenger, 'Die Augustus-Inschrift auf dem Marktplatz von Kyrene', *Abh. der Bayer. Akad., phil. hist. Kl.*, 34, 2 Abh., 1928, 112 ff.; V. Arangio-Ruiz, 'L'Editto di Augusto ai Cirenei', *Riv. fisc.* 56, 1928, 321–64, and *ibid.* 58, 1930, 220–330; A. von Premerstein, 'Zu den kyrenaïschen Edikten des Augustus', *Zeitschrift d. Sav.-Stift.*, r.a., 51, 1931, 431–59; F. De Visscher, *Les Edits d'Auguste découverts à Cyrène* (Louvain, 1940), ch. vii. A full bibliography of the fifth edict will be found in De Visscher, *op. cit.* pp. 13–15.

The author's thanks are due to Professor H. M. Last for many helpful criticisms, and to Professor E. Fraenkel for assistance on questions of Latinity.

[2] Below p. 12.

[3] Below p. 9 ff.

[4] For the nature of the capital penalty in the late Republic see Strachan-Davidson, *op. cit.* ch. xv–xvi, and E. Levy, 'Die römische Kapitalstrafe', *Sitz. d. Heid. Akad. Wiss., phil. hist. Kl.*, 1930–1. Levy goes far to establish the view that the only capital sentence known to Roman law before 63 B.C. was death, though this was very seldom carried out; he further maintains, not perhaps so successfully, that before that date the term *caput*, in contexts of *damnatio*, can only refer to life proper, not to mere civil status.

The question at issue is no academic point, but vitally concerns the attitude of the whole Republican administration, optimate and popular alike, and that of Augustus too, towards the extortion law, which was after all the main sanction against provincial maladministration, and provided the only legal process that could be set in train by the action of the provincials themselves. Hence it may be worth while to examine anew the evidence for the penalties of the extortion law, and to decide whether any alternative to Mommsen's view or any modification of it is possible.

I. THE LEX CALPURNIA

There are relatively few problems connected with the penalties of the earlier laws. About the Calpurnian law of 149 B.C. the established view seems to be sound, that this law did little more than to regularise and improve the procedure which had been improvised in 171 B.C. when the first complaints of extortion from a province were brought to the notice of the Senate.[5] A permanent court of senatorial *recuperatores* took the place of temporary commissions. The procedure continued to be modelled on that of a private recuperatorial action. It was according to Gaius a 'legis actio . . . per condictionem'.[6] The later peculiarities of the extortion law partly derive from this fact. The civil process of *condictio* took no account of the circumstances in which the thing for which recovery was sought passed into the hands of the defendant. The relatively slow development of penalties for extortion can be traced to the influence of this legal conception. It is tempting to go further and to agree with Zumpt that the extortion court was not yet regarded in any way as a *iudicium publicum*, on the ground that L. Lentulus, who was censor in 147 B.C., had been one of the first victims of the Calpurnian law, evidently without suffering the *infamia* which came normally to follow condemnation in a *iudicium publicum*.[7] Further, at this date there can have been little obvious connexion between the special activities of a senatorial committee of *recuperatores*, using the forms of civil law, and the contemporary excitements of the grand political *iudicia populi*. Likewise it was only gradually that the political possibilities of the extortion charge came to be recognised by the young hopefuls of the forum.

It remains certain that a successful action under the Calpurnian law imposed simple restitution, without *infamia*, on the defendant.[8]

II. THE LEX ACILIA

The agitations of the Gracchan period certainly led to a change in the whole conception of the extortion court. In the Lex Acilia twofold restitution is substituted for the simple repayment of sums illegally exacted.[9] This was a departure from the spirit of

[5] Mommsen, *op. cit.* pp. 706–8; *Staatsrecht*, II[3], 224; Zumpt, *op. cit.* (1845), pp. 9–12. For the first case of extortion, Livy 43, 2.

[6] Gaius 4, 19. One may doubt whether this really refers to the extortion law; Gaius seems rather to be referring to the original laws which introduced the new action of *condictio* as such. The difficulty raised by the presence of the process *sacramento* in the same law has not yet been solved, though it is faced by Strachan-Davidson, *op. cit.* p. 5. But it remains true that the extortion law is based on the principle of *condictio*.

[7] Zumpt, *op. cit.* p. 13. Valerius Maximus 6, 9, 10.

[8] For the 'poena simpli' see *Lex Acilia* 59 (Bruns, *Fontes Iuris Romani*[7], 10).

[9] The identification of the document Bruns *FIR*[7] 10 with a Gracchan Lex Acilia need hardly be discussed. J. Carcopino in *Autour des Gracques* (Paris, 1928), pp. 205 ff., it may be added, never meets the point, rather forgotten by recent critics on both sides, that the document is the first law after the closely associated Lex Calpurnia and Lex Iunia; any intervening law must have been quoted, as they were, to clear up points of overlap.

condictio, and marked the beginning of the conversion of the charge into a criminal offence.[10] Further, it is not improbable that Zumpt was right in arguing that the court now became recognised as a *iudicium publicum*, and that *infamia* became the usual consequence of condemnation. Mommsen did not accept this view, probably because C. Cato remained a senator and held office after condemnation under the Lex Acilia.[11] Zumpt's explanation of this is indeed unsatisfactory: he held that the Acilian law (l. 74) still allowed private actions as an alternative process, without time-limit, in all cases. But Cato may well have been tried, in view of the small sum involved, under the provisions of ll. 7–8, which seem to retain the forms of the Calpurnian law for cases initiated after the Kalends of September.[12]

Zumpt's opinion about *infamia* would have been better grounded on l. 28. This deals with an undefined class of persons who accepted sums within the limits allowed by the law, and indicates that those who were convicted of taking more suffered *infamia*: 'quei pequniam ex (h.l.) capiet eum ob eam causam . . . (neive tribu mo)veto . . . neive quid ei (ob) eam rem fraudei esto'.[13] The change in the selection of jurors would render the assimilation of the panel court to a *iudicium publicum* easy. For, whatever the exact qualification of the Gracchan jurors may have been, they were all chosen, according to contemporary language, *e plebe*, since at this time the equestrian order as such had not emerged.[14]

The positive evidence for the alternative view, that *infamia* was introduced only by the Lex Servilia Glauciae (*c.* 105 B.C.), is very weak.[15] A passage in the *ad Herennium*, which shows that persons condemned for extortion were forbidden to appear at a public meeting, i.e. suffered *infamia*, proves only that *infamia* for extortion was pre-Sullan, and leaves open the 'terminus a quo'.[16] Again, there is no reason to connect the fragment of the Latin law from Bantia, which included a section about *infamia* among its sanctions, with the Servilian or any other extortion law.[17]

It is to be noted that *infamia* was not so much a particular penalty of the law as an unvarying consequence of condemnation in this or any other *iudicium publicum*: 'quei (ioudicio puplico conde)mnatus siet quod circa eum in senatum legei non liceat'.[18] Thus its introduction into the extortion law may have resulted from the court's change of status, and not from any intention of the legislator to stiffen the penalties in this respect. It is, however, worth noting that the legislator expected that some accused persons would anticipate condemnation by withdrawing into voluntary exile *before* their cases were heard.[19] It is this probability, which later became very general, that is urged as a sufficient explanation for oratorical references to the *caput* of the accused in extortion

[10] Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, pp. 728–9.

[11] Zumpt, *op. cit.* (1845) pp. 13, 26; Mommsen, *op. cit.* p. 729. For Cato see Velleius, ii. 8, 1.

[12] qu)oius eorum ita nomen ex h.l. post k. Sept., quae eo anno fuerint, delatum erit, quei eorum eo ioudicio condemnatus erit, quanti eius rei slis ae(stumata erit) . . . praetor qui ex h.l. q(uaeret facito . . . uti) *privato* solvatur.

[13] *Cf.* l. 13: quei (. . . ioudicio puplico conde)mnatus siet quod circa eum in senatum legei non liceat.

[14] In general see A. Stein. *Der römische Ritterstand* (München, 1927), ch. i. Polybius vi. 13–18 on the Roman constitution knows no equestrian class, and though this is incomplete, he certainly includes the business elements in the *plebs*.

[15] Mommsen, *op. cit.* p. 729; Strachan-Davidson, *op. cit.* p. 13.

[16] Auctor ad Herennium, 1, 20.

[17] Bruns, *FIR*[7] 8; *cf.* Stuart-Jones, *JRS* 1926, p. 170 f. The senatorial oath really excludes any date before 100 B.C., when Saturninus invented such oaths.

[18] Lex Acilia l. 13, *Digest* 48, 11, 6. *Cf.* Zumpt, *op. cit.* p. 13.

[19] Lex Acilia l. 29.

cases. The earliest instance is the fiery language used by M. Antonius in his indictment of the Lex Acilia in 106 B.C.[20]

III. THE LEX SERVILIA

It seems surprising that at the time when the Lex Servilia was passed, in the bitterest years of the popular agitation of the post-Gracchan period, when the *populares* were legislating almost annually for fresh capital charges in which to entangle the aristocracy, they apparently missed the opportunity of making the penalty of the extortion law capital.[20A] Three points may be urged about this. First, that the Lex Servilia Glauciae was mainly concerned with recovering lost ground, by re-establishing the non-senatorial juries displaced by the Lex Servilia Caepionis.[21] Second, that the popular leaders were less concerned with the interests of the allies than with those of the *plebs Romana*; it sufficed for them that condemnation effectively removed a man from public life. Third, that if the penalties were not increased, the procedure of the law was made more strict by the introduction of *comperendinatio*, aimed against a legal filibuster,[22] and the scope of the law was widened by the provision in certain cases for the recovery of monies from third parties under the clause 'quo ea pecunia pervenerit'.[23] There can be no doubt that apart from its penalties the Servilian law was in Cicero's phrase 'durior', harder, than its predecessor.[24]

IV. THE LEX CORNELIA

The doctrine of Mommsen, followed by Strachan-Davidson, is that Sulla's law moderated the penalties of the Acilio-Servilian system by restoring simple restitution in place of the *poena dupli*, and by abolishing *infamia*.[25] This is a retrocession from the view of Zumpt, who saw clearly that Sulla's legislation affecting the powers of magistrates was not mere reaction. The intention of the so-called Sullan constitution could not be better summarised than by Zumpt's brief remarks, published in 1845, particularly: 'multis legibus hoc egit ut magistratuum . . . libidinem et avaritiam vinciret metu poenae ac iudiciorum'.[26] It is rather a stiffening than a moderating of penalties that should be expected of Sulla, and in one penalty at least this may well have been done. For Zumpt's argument, based on the evidence of the Verrines, that the financial penalty was increased to two-and-a-half-fold, was not disproved by Mommsen but merely set aside.[27] In the *Divinatio* Cicero claims 100,000,000 sesterces, while at the end of his first *actio* he sets the sum actually stolen as 40,000,000 sesterces.[28] The difference between the two

[20] Cicero, *de Oratore* 1, 225: 'eripite nos ex faucibus eorum quorum crudelitas nisi nostro sanguine non potest expleri'; *cf.* Strachan-Davidson, *op. cit.* p. 80. Cicero does not seem to have taken this in a technical sense: 'ne iudicio iniquo exsorbeatur sanguis tuus, quod sapienti negant accidere posse' is his gloss.

[20A] Cicero says that M. Aquilius, tried under the Servilian law in 98 B.C., was 'in civitate retinendus'; in references to the actual speech of Antonius in defence there is no hint of a capital penalty, *de Or.*, ii, 124 and 194. In ii *in Verr.* 5, 3 he is only 'ad iudicum crudelitatem servatus'. Rutilius Rufus, another victim, retired into exile after suffering only a monetary penalty: Cassius Dio, *fr.* 97.

[21] For the date see H. M. Last in *CAH* ix, 163; J. P. Balsdon, 'History of the Extortion Court at Rome, 123–70 B.C.', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 1938, 106–14.

[22] Balsdon, *art. cit.* pp. 105, 112. Cicero, ii *in Verr*, 1, 26.

[23] Mommsen, *op. cit.* p. 709. Cicero, *pro Rab. Post.* 9.

[24] *de Officiis* 2, 21.

[25] Mommsen, *op. cit.* pp. 709, 728–9; Strachan-Davidson, *op. cit.* p. 13, n. 2.

[26] Zumpt, *op. cit.* p. 36.

[27] *Ibid.* pp. 41–1. Mommsen makes no reference to Zumpt's point in *Strafrecht*, 705–32.

[28] *Div. in Caec.* 19; i *in Verr.* 56.

claims is indicated by the terms 'ex lege repeto' for the first and 'contra leges abstulisse' for the second.

That *infamia* still attached to condemnation is strongly suggested by a passage in the second *actio*, where Cicero enlarges upon the enormity of Verres continuing to sit in the Senate and on juries if he were acquitted.[29] Cicero can hardly mean, as Strachan-Davidson suggests,[30] simply that Verres would probably go into voluntary exile if condemned. The underlying reference is to the exclusion from Senate and jury of those condemned in a *iudicium publicum*. The evidence for Mommsen's view consists of a short statement in Suetonius' life of Iulius: 'repetundarum convictos etiam ordine senatorio movit'.[31] He took this to refer to the Lex Iulia, and to mean that it restored the *infamia* abolished by the Lex Cornelia. But there is no mention of the Julian or any other law in the context, which is dealing not with legislation but with jurisdiction. Zumpt thought that the reference was to civil actions,[32] such as, one might add, Caesar's own juvenile suit against C. Antonius.[33] Caesar may well have taken censorial action, such as the censors of 70 B.C. took against this very Antonius, against those who lost such suits: 'movit'.

In any case it is not easy to understand how Sulla could, or why he should, have restricted in this one instance the application of a general principle of public law. The rule was firmly rooted in tradition, and was certainly not invented by Gracchan or post-Gracchan legislators. It would agree better with the other legislation of Sulla to argue that he was so far from abolishing *infamia* for extortion that he introduced the capital penalty in this, as in the rest of his penal legislation, in the form *de eius capite quaerito*.[34] There is a considerable body of Ciceronian evidence to support such a view, though at present it is fashionable to dismiss all references in Cicero's speeches to *periculum capitis* in extortion cases as 'rhetorical', or else with the caution of Strachan-Davidson to explain them as referring to voluntary exile assumed in fear of further charges.[35] But the latter alternative does not meet the case, because exile was equally the means of avoiding a direct capital sentence. If no factual evidence can be found against the capital penalty, then the oratorical evidence may be strong enough to prove its existence.

In several passages of the Second Action Cicero speaks explicitly of 'capitis ac fortunarum tuarum periculum', which Verres risked by his spoliations.[36] In the first of these there is a seeming reference to a threefold classification of the penalties of the law: 'tantam tuam infamiam tantum capitis tui fortunarumque tuarum periculum neglexisse'. This implies loss of civil standing, loss of citizenship or life, and loss of money.[37] If the fine and the infamy were penalties, why not the *caput* also? When it is said of the unfortunate Dexo that 'non ex litibus aestimatis tuis pecuniam domum sed ex tua calamitate . . . solacium vult aliquod reportare', something more than the fine is meant by *calamitas*.[38] A clearer reference to the possibility of a capital penalty occurs where the presiding praetor interrupted the trial: 'etenim verebatur ne populus Romanus

[29] ii *in Verr.* 2, 76; *cf.* 3, 52.
[30] *Op. cit.* p. 14, n. 5.
[31] Suet. *Div. Iul.* 43.
[32] Zumpt, *op. cit.* p. 42.
[33] For Caesar v. Antonius see Asconius 75.
[34] *Cf.* Levy, *op. cit.* pp. 14 ff., 26 ff.
[35] *Cf.* De Visscher, *op. cit.* p. 171.
[36] ii, 3: 52, 129, 133, 134.
[37] For *fortunae*, the plural, as property see *Thesaurus L. L. s.v.* col. 1180.
[38] ii *in Verr.* 5, 128. For *calamitas* in a similar context see *pro Caecina* 100: 'quia volunt poenam aliquam subterfugere aut calamitatem eo solum vertunt . . . cum . . . vincula neces ignominiasque vitant'.

ab isto eas poenas vi repetisse videretur quas veritus esset ne iste legibus ac vestro iudicio non esset persoluturus'.[39] And in his peroration Cicero remarks 'reliquum iudicium iam non . . . de istius vita quae damnata est sed de iudicibus . . . futurum est'.[40]

All this should add up to the conclusion that the penalty of the law was capital. Though it may be urged that 'calamitas' and 'vita damnata' are vague or non-technical phrases, intended to avoid connecting the judicial verdict with judicial *capitis damnatio*, the phrases in which 'caput', 'fama' or 'infamia', and 'fortunae' are conjoined are less ambiguous. This conjunction is found in other extortion contexts with the appearance of a technical term. Though absent from the First Action it occurs in the *Divinatio*: 'illos qui accusantur de capite ac fortunis suis pertimescere',[41] in the incomplete *pro Fonteio*: 'fac omnis . . . pepercisse huius capiti consuluisse famae',[42] and in the *pro Flacco*: 'principes posse spoliari omnibus fortunis atque civitate expelli'.[43] Elsewhere, in contexts that do not concern extortion, the conjunction is used with certain reference to capital punishment, as in the *pro Quinctio* and in a letter, where Cicero says of Laenius Flaccus, who protected him in 58 B.C. despite the threats of the Clodian law: 'periculum fortunarum et capitis sui prae mea salute neglexit'.[44]

The implication in the passages referring to the Lex Cornelia is that by direct sentence of law a man condemned for extortion suffered both in his civil status and in his property. Why else should withdrawal from Italy be so very common in such cases after 81 B.C.? The usual explanation that by this means it was easier to save a part of one's property, though slightly supported by a passage in Suetonius,[45] does not give a complete answer, because it is apparent from a statement in Plutarch's *Cicero* that *litis aestimatio*, though heavy, seldom corresponded to the exactions which had taken place.[46] As Cicero himself said, the jurors paid less attention to the 'aestimatio' than to the case itself.[47] If then Plutarch and Mommsen are both right, Verres might have paid up and still have remained a senator.

Up to this point then the evidence tends certainly towards *infamia* and possibly towards *capitis damnatio* as penalties of the Cornelian law. Two passages, however, speak against the capital penalty. The first is a section of the *pro Cluentio*, obscure both in text and meaning, to which sufficient attention has not yet been given.[48] Cicero is discussing the 'litis aestimatio' which followed the condemnation of Septimius Scaevola for extortion and explaining general principles. His point is that damages were often sought on claims which could also form the bases of capital charges under other laws, such as that of *maiestas*, but that the reception of these claims at the 'litis aestimatio' was not treated as a *praeiudicium* later. He remarks that many men were acquitted of treason

[39] ii *in Verr.* 5, 163.

[40] *Ibid.* 5, 177. The passage in 3, 152, where Metellus refuses to accept a civil action against a third party 'quod per vim aut metum abstulerit', because 'praeiudicium se de capite C. Verris per hoc iudicium nolle fieri', has been used by Stroux (*art. cit.* pp. 115 f.) as evidence for the capital penalty, but the reference could equally well be to the Lex Plautia de vi (*cf.* De Visscher, *op. cit.* p. 170), and perhaps better, because, one might add, the extortion law was not concerned with circumstances such as *vis* or *metus*. Only Roman citizens were involved.

[41] *Div. in Caec.* 71.

[42] *pro Fonteio* 3.

[43] *pro Flacco* 96, after a vaguer reference to 'sanguis' in 95.

[44] *ad Fam.* 14, 4, 2; *pro Quinctio* 8, 26, 27, 94.

[45] Suet., *Div. Iul.* 42: 'locupletes eo facilius scelere se obligarent quod integris patrimoniis exulabant'. The reference is primarily to murder.

[46] Plut. *Cicero* 8; Zumpt, *op. cit.* p. 50.

[47] Cic. *pro Cluentio* 116: 'in litibus aestimandis fere iudices . . . quod se perfunctos iam esse arbitrantur cum de reo iudicarunt neglegentius attendunt cetera'.

[48] *Ibid.* 115–16.

when they had already been condemned for extortion and 'estimated' for *lites maiestatis*.[49] This can only mean 'because they took money for doing something against the treason law'. Likewise in the particular case of Scaevola an item of taking bribes as a juror was estimated against him, and yet he was not later accused under the law against judicial corruption. The assumption behind the whole of this passage is that under the Lex Cornelia those who had been condemned for extortion might still remain as full citizens and be the subject of capital charges on other accounts: 'si rei iudicatae pondus habuisset (lis aestimata), ille postea vel isdem vel aliis inimicis reus hac ipsa lege (the law 'inter sicarios') factus esset'.

Though the passage contains several difficulties of text and translation, the last sentence, just quoted, is free from serious obscurity, and certainly seems to indicate that the penalty of the Cornelian law was less than capital. It is, however, preceded by the statement, referring to the charge of bribery against Scaevola: 'omni contentione pugnatum est uti lis haec capitis aestimaretur'. 'Lis capitis' is used elsewhere in the same passage apparently in the sense of 'lis capitalis', meaning a *lis* on which a capital charge could also be brought,[50] just as 'lis maiestatis' is used in the same context to mean a suit which could also form the object of a treason charge. At first sight a possible alternative interpretation would be that juries could assess certain charges as capital under the Cornelian law with the full consequences of a capital condemnation. But this seems to be contrary to what is known of the 'litis aestimatio' down to the Lex Iulia, a process solely concerned with *pecunia*.[51] Also, it is hardly probable that juries would listen 'neglegentius', as Cicero says in this very passage, at the moment when the penalty was to be severely increased; moreover, it is hard to see why a man already condemned 'capitis' should stand further trial, as Cicero says they did.

A second possibility is that the jurors could explicitly qualify the acts of the accused as deserving the capital penalty without this having any practical consequences, i.e. 'rei iudicatae pondus non habuit'. This interpretation has, in effect, been urged, for reasons of syntax, by Peterson, in answer to Reid's objection to the Latinity of 'lis capitis', but it seems to be contrary to the trend of the passage as a whole.[52] Rather should one say that the jury expressed such a view when they tacked on to the verdict of 'fecisse videri' an *aestimatio* that X should pay so much because, for example, he had taken money, as Scaevola did, 'quo quis iudicio circumveniretur'.

A second passage in Cicero that tells against the capital penalty comes from the fragments of the *in Toga Candida*.[53] To explain away the acquittal of Catiline on an extortion charge he remarks: 'o miser qui non sentias illo iudicio te non absolutum verum ad aliquod severius iudicium ac *maius supplicium* reservatum'. This remark would be pointless at this moment of Catiline's career, long before the 'conspiracy' came to light, if the penalty of the extortion law was capital, though the passage can hardly be

[49] Cic. *pro Cluentio* 116: 'itaque et maiestatis absoluti sunt permulti, quibus damnatis de pecuniis repetundis lites maiestatis essent aestimatae'. Some manuscripts omit the second 'maiestatis'. For similar interpretations see W. Peterson, *M. Tulli Ciceronis pro Cluentio Oratio* (London, 1899 etc.) 197–8, and Strachan-Davidson, *op. cit.* p. 9, but the full implication of the passage was missed by them.

[50] 'Si qua in eum lis capitis inlata est non admittunt (iudices)',—whether one accepts Postgate's excellent correction 'remittunt' is for present purposes immaterial.

[51] ii *in Verr.* i. 95–100; *pro Rab. Post.* 8–11.

[52] Peterson, *op. cit.* pp. 197–8, quoting apparently a private communication of Dr. Reid.

[53] Asconius 78. For a parallel passage *cf.* Caelius in Cic. *ad. fam.* 8, 2, 1, of a person acquitted on an unknown charge in 51 B.C., possibly extortion: 'itaque relictus legi Liciniae maiore esse periculo videtur'.

used to support Mommsen's view by those who reject the Ciceronian evidence as rhetorical. The particular value of the passage is that it suggests that down to 64 B.C., five years before the Lex Iulia, there had been no modification of the penalties of the Cornelian law.

This review of the evidence seems to lead to the conclusion that the penalty of the law was not capital in any form, and that Strachan-Davidson was right in so far as most *condemnati* went into voluntary exile after a 'lis capitis aestimata' in order to avoid further prosecution, although some like Scaevola successfully stood their ground. Mommsen seems to be wrong in suggesting that the cause of exile was the enormity of the fines, and that the guilty did not suffer *infamia*. Those who had been condemned without suffering a 'lis capitis' might still prefer to withdraw into exile, either out of indignation, like Rutilius Rufus, because they had been condemned on technical grounds by political spite, or even out of shame if the offence was flagrant.[53a] What precisely Cicero means by his use of the term *caput* in his extortion speeches, whether it is death as Levy maintains, or loss of civil rights as his predecessors held, is hard to determine, but he is not referring to the *technical* penalty of the Cornelian law.

V. THE LEX IULIA

The evidence concerning Caesar's consular law *de rebus repetundis* comes from five different periods. It consists of (1) the contemporary evidence of Cicero; (2) the Augustan s.c. Calvisianum of 4 B.C.; (3) Julio-Claudian verdicts recorded by Tacitus in his *Annals* and *Histories*; (4) detailed description of cases in the *Letters* of the Younger Pliny under Trajan; and (5) extracts from jurists of the second and later centuries in the *Digest*.

All the post-Augustan evidence is remarkable in that it suggests that the normal punishment for extortion was less than capital, and yet shows that capital punishment, in its appropriate form, could in some circumstances be exacted. Since this may be due to a later stiffening of the law, a separate chronological handling of the different types of evidence is desirable. It is particularly desirable to establish what the penalty was before the death of Augustus, and whether the Ciceronian evidence shows that the original Lex Iulia went beyond the Lex Cornelia in the severity of its penalties.

Ciceronian Evidence. In a well-known passage of the *de Officiis*,[54] composed long after the passing of the Lex Iulia, Cicero wrote with reference to the original Lex Calpurnia: 'at vero postea tot leges et proximae quaeque duriores; tot rei tot damnati . . . ut imbecillitate aliorum . . . valeamus'. It has been seen that, mainly in respect of penalties, each extortion law down to and including the Cornelian law was in fact 'durior'. Does the same hold for the Lex Iulia, which Cicero ought at the time of writing to have had in mind as the latest of the *proximae*? In a passage of the *pro Rabirio Postumo* he seems to affirm so: 'iubet lex Iulia persequi ab eis ad quos ea pecunia . . . pervenerit. Si est hoc novum in lege Iulia, sicuti multa sunt severius scripta quam in antiquis legibus et sanctius . . .'.[55] This is usually taken in the same sense as the passage from *de Officiis*: the penalties were made more severe. Yet the words 'severius scripta et sanctius' need not refer to penalties so much as to the general strictness and explicitness of the law as a

[53a] *Cf. pro Caecina* 100, quoted n. 38 above.
[54] *de Officiis* 2, 75.
[55] *pro Rab. Post.* 8.

whole, which, as he shows elsewhere, was more carefully drafted and cast its net more widely than the Cornelian law. A severe law is not necessarily one with a severe penalty; in the *Verrines* the Lex Acilia is described as 'mollior' than the Servilian law, because the Servilian procedure was more exacting, though its penalty was no stricter.[56] The reference in *sancire* and *sanctius* is to the detailed act of forbidding rather than to the ferocity of the penalty.[57] Cicero means that more acts were specifically forbidden in the Julian law; one may compare a passage of the *in Pisonem* where he says that there were a number of actions 'quorum nihil est quod non sit lege Iulia ne fieri liceat sanctum diligenter'.[58]

So far the evidence is neutral. Elsewhere in the *pro Rabirio Postumo* Cicero refers to the possible punishment of Postumus, who was being prosecuted under the clause 'quo ea pecunia pervenerit' for sharing the gains of the already condemned Gabinius. In 11 he says of the jurors: 'si enim quod liceat quaeritis potestis tollere e civitate quem vultis; tabella est quae dat potestatem'. Thus Rabirius would disappear not by voluntary exile but by the act of the jurors. This is more explicit than the language used by Cicero about the penalties of the Cornelian law, but can hardly alone prove the capital penalty. The phrase 'tollere e civitate' would, however, correctly express the effect of a verdict of guilty under a law which included express provision for the pronunciation of the interdiction *aqua et igni*; the first law which made this incumbent was apparently the *lex Tullia de ambitu* of 63 B.C.[59] Elsewhere Cicero twice states that Rabirius would suffer more than a pecuniary penalty. Since he was already financially ruined, and maintained *in foro* only by Caesar's generosity, he could now lose nothing 'praeter hoc simulacrum pristinae dignitatis', i.e. his equestrian status; and again 'nomen equitis Romani et usuram huius lucis et vestrum conspectum ne eripiatis'.[60] It is hard to see why Rabirius should have gone into voluntary exile if he was already a ruined man, and as a private citizen had no 'lis capitis' to fear. It follows that at the least Rabirius was due to suffer *infamia* if condemned. This is all the more surprising in view of the fact that the attitude of the law under this heading was markedly 'recuperatory'. If the principal offender had paid in full, no action could have lain against Rabirius, however much he had received.[61] There is, then, a presumption that the punishment of principals exceeded the *infamia* which attached even to receivers.

Another peculiarity of the Julian law emerges from two passages of the *in Pisonem*, in which Cicero lists certain acts that were forbidden by the law.[62] Some of these acts have to do with certain permissible requisitions which were more closely defined than hitherto (e.g. 'numerum navium', 'rationem exacti frumenti'). Infringement of these clauses could clearly be met by fines alone. But there are also included offences for which no financial equivalent is easily discernible, such as the infringement of the freedom of *populi liberi*, and a series of actions which were already forbidden by the Lex Cornelia Maiestatis: 'exire de provincia, educere exercitum, bellum sua sponte

[56] ii *in Verr.* 1, 26. *Cf.* Balsdon, *art. cit.* p. 102.
[57] *Cf.* Forcellini, *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon*, s.v. 'sancire' p. 323 and 'sanctus' p. 325.
[58] *in Pisonem* 90.
[59] Levy, *op. cit.* pp. 30–1.
[60] *pro Rab. Post.* 41 and 48.
[61] *Ibid.* 37. *Cf.* Mommsen, *op. cit.* pp. 731–2.
[62] *in Pisonem* 50 and 91; also *de Prov. Cons.* 7. Mommsen, *op. cit.* pp. 719–20, gives the facts but does not face the difficulty, although he insists that the *condictio* principle implied that the *poena* was estimated in cash. He adds that the ownership of ships was forbidden to senators by the Cornelian law, but the 'antiquae leges et mortuae quae vetant' quoted by Cicero need not be extortion laws.

gerere, in regnum iniussu . . . senatus accedere'. It may be argued that the Lex Iulia allowed action under these heads only when money had been taken in such a connexion, just as action was possible under the extortion law for the offence of judicial corruption as well as under the law 'inter sicarios'.[63] Yet that is not what Cicero says, and at least it is apparent that the extortion law had passed beyond the early conception of *repetundae* as merely an action for recovery. The law is now taking cognisance of the quality of acts. Cicero says about *aurum coronarium*, 'lex (Iulia) . . . et decerni et te accipere vetabat nisi decreto triumpho', after remarking that Piso had long hesitated to accept an offer of such gold.[64] This implies that it was an offence for a governor to allow the local councils to vote such monies even if they were not accepted,—hardly a 'recuperatory' offence.

If the Lex Iulia included offences of this kind, then either its penalty in such cases was a fixed fine or else it was the same as that of the treason law, i.e. capital. Taken together the Ciceronian passages indicate that the original form of the Julian law made more elaborate provision for penalties than did earlier laws, just as it defined offences in more detail. This is supported also by what is known of the length of the law. Its hundred and first head was concerned with topics which in the Lex Acilia were reached in the fifty-fifth line ('de reo condemnando').[65] Hence it is intrinsically improbable that the penalties were dismissed as briefly as in the Acilian section 'de litibus aestimandis'. But in what manner the penalties were defined cannot be decided until the evidence of the imperial period has been considered.

The Senatusconsultum Calvisianum. Before the publication of the fifth Augustan edict found at Cyrene and the s.c. attached to it, it was apparent from Tacitus and Pliny the Younger that in the Principate a new procedure existed for dealing with extortion cases, but the exact relation of the 'recuperatores' of Tacitus and the 'iudices dati' of Pliny to the older procedure was not certain.[66] It was also apparent that certain other extortion cases were heard by a full session of the Senate, Mommsen's consular-senatorial court. The publication of the s.c. of 4 B.C. at first seemed to make all things clear.[67] A new procedure was established by which small senatorial juries of five men were appointed to investigate cases in which the charge was only of *pecunia capta*. These juries were not to deal with more serious charges involving capital punishment. It seemed easy to identify the jurors of the s.c. with those of Tacitus and Pliny, and to assume that the consular-senatorial court took the place of the old *iudicium publicum* for the other class of offences. It also seemed to follow that the Lex Iulia, to which this s.c. was an adjunct, provided the capital penalty for at least some, if not all, offences of extortion. But systematic examination of the document led to the discovery of difficulties and objections. A formidable controversy arose between von Premerstein and Stroux as protagonists, and the dispute still rages. Unfortunately it is particularly concerned with interpretation of the chief sentence relating to penalties. Recently Professor De Visscher has tried to effect a certain reconciliation between the main views, partly by relating the function of the Senate in the s.c. more clearly to the general function of the Senate in foreign affairs, partly by undermining certain assumptions of either party.

Some things are not in dispute. It has emerged that the s.c. is concerned with the

[63] *Cf. pro Cluentio* 90, 104, 114.
[64] *in Pisonem* 90.
[65] Cic. *ad Fam.* 8, 8, 3.
[66] *Cf.* Mommsen, *op. cit.* p. 726.
[67] For bibliography see n. 1. The text here followed is that of De Visscher. The s.c. is now conveniently available in *SEG* ix 8.

reform only of procedure, not of the penalties.[68] Whatever the penalties of the Lex Iulia were, they were not altered by the s.c.[69] Again, the shortened procedure set up by the s.c. provided for the singlefold repayment of monies extorted against the law, took no account of any other circumstance, and excluded any form of the capital penalty. But, as De Visscher rightly sees, such condemnation did not preclude *infamia*.[70] The document then agrees with the later history of the extortion law, in that those condemned by *recuperatores* in the Julio-Claudian and Trajanic period suffered *infamia* and consequent exclusion from the Senate, whatever the exact relation between the later *recuperatores* and the jurors of the s.c. may have been (below p. 23).

So much is certain. What is still at issue is whether the s.c. provided for, or left open, other forms of prosecution for extortion, with heavier penalties, before the old *quaestio*. The debate centres round the opening words of the sentence with which the s.c., after a historical survey of the extortion law, introduces the new procedure: ἐάν τινες τῶν συμμάχων . . . χρήματα δημοσίᾳ ἢ ἰδίᾳ πραχθέντες ἀπαιτεῖν βουληθῶσιν χωρὶς τοῦ κεφαλῆς εὐθύνειν τὸν εἰληφότα—then they are to approach a magistrate who will secure them a hearing in the Senate.[71] The problem is—exactly what is the bearing of the phrase introduced by χωρίς? Stroux, taking it as qualifying βουληθῶσιν ἀπαιτεῖν, concluded that the Lex Iulia provided for a capital penalty, and that this s.c. enabled the provincials themselves to choose whether they wished to prosecute by the new procedure, which provided no punishment beyond repayment, or to bring their case before a *iudicium publicum*, which provided for repayment plus the capital penalty.[72] Von Premerstein, holding Mommsen's doctrine that the Julian law did not know the capital penalty, took the limiting clause less closely with its context, and referred it to criminal charges not covered by the extortion law which provincials might wish to bring forward. Such charges were excluded from the scope of the special juries and were referred to the relevant *quaestio*.[73]

De Visscher has pounced upon the peculiarity common to both these views—that whether the other charges were criminal extortion or murder and treason, they were withheld from the Senate's competence and referred directly to the *quaestiones*.[74] He rightly points out that this is contrary to all that is known about the function of the Senate in foreign affairs. If emissaries from allied or subject states brought plaints to Rome, the routine arrangement was for the Senate to discuss them and to make some recommendation to the consuls in the matter.[75] Further, the s.c. provides for a preliminary hearing in the full Senate before the special jury is assigned.[76] The sensible explanation of this is that the Senate was to sift the provincial complaints—not the evidence behind the complaints, and, if there was more than extortion in them, to make appropriate recommendations. The great change in procedure, with respect to the capital charges, implied both by Stroux and von Premerstein, could not, De Visscher argues, have been accomplished by four obscure words. But he agrees with von Premerstein and Mommsen about the penalty of the Julian law, and hence takes a similar view to von Premerstein's about the 'capital charges', but limits them to charges,

[68] De Visscher, *op. cit.* pp. 174, 181–2.
[69] *Ibid.* pp. 182–3.
[70] *Ibid.* p. 179.
[71] Ll. 97–99.
[72] Stroux, *art. cit.* pp. 112 ff.
[73] Von Premerstein, *art. cit.* (1928) 516, (1931) 447.
[74] De Visscher, *op. cit.* pp. 163 ff.
[75] Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, III[3] 1148 f.
[76] L. 104–5. ὧν ἂν ἐν τῇ συνκλήτῳ αἰτίας ἐπιφέρουσιν κτλ.

closely associated with extortion, in a matter that might be a capital offence under another law. Such charges he thinks were excluded on the principle that no recuperatory action could lie if it established a *praeiudicium capitis* about a future criminal charge.[77] De Visscher seems hereby to have entangled himself in contradictions. Such charges certainly could lie under the longer process before a *iudicium publicum*, and were not, according to the evidence of the *pro Cluentio* passage, which De Visscher seems not to have used, held to constitute a *praeiudicium*.[78] Why then should they constitute one under the short process? Again, the evidence about *praeiudicia* quoted by De Visscher from Cicero's *de Inventione* refers only to civil actions.[79] Hence De Visscher is really accepting at this point Stroux's view of the short process as merely recuperatory which he elsewhere rebuts, holding that the penalties of the Lex Iulia, whatever they were, applied equally to the short process and to the long.[80]

De Visscher seems to come very close to the truth and yet to miss it. Hence a slightly different interpretation may be offered, based on De Visscher's own point that the s.c. is concerned solely with extortion matters, and Stroux's point, which is really grammatical, that the χωρίς clause makes clear sense as qualifying ἀπαιτεῖν, but is very obscure when taken generally and loosely in von Premerstein's manner. The same negative implication recurs, with direct reference to extortion, in ll. 130–1, where the duties of jurors are defined: οἱ . . . . κριταὶ περὶ τούτων μόνον ἀκουέτωσαν καὶ διαγεινωσκέτωσαν περὶ ὧν ἄν τις εὐθύνηται . . νενοσφισμένος. Here the reference can only be to charges which could be brought under the scope of the extortion law. Cicero might make his audience *listen* to creepy stories about the violence of Verres, but he could not get *sentence given* on these counts under the Cornelian law. The implication of καὶ διαγεινωσκέτωσαν is that, under the Julian law, charges other than extortion, or charges of extortion in aggravating circumstances, could be brought within the scope of the sentence. It is these charges that are excluded as much by ll. 130–1 as by the χωρίς clause; the object of the senatorial hearing is, as De Visscher says, to decide (as was done in later days), by examining not the evidence but the charges, whether 'jurors should be given', or whether the case must after all be referred for trial to the *quaestio*, or as took place later in the Principate, to a full session of the Senate.

One difficulty persists even in the simplified version of De Visscher. How could provincials indict an ex-governor on charges not covered by the extortion law? This was the sole form of redress created for provincials under the Republic.[81] Citizens might indict senators for political offences such as *maiestas* or *peculatus* or for such crimes as *furtum* or *vis*, and might possibly bring civil actions in certain circumstances. But these courses were not open to the provincial. The basic reason is the unlimited nature of the *imperium* of a magistrate.[82] The extortion laws limited the holder of *imperium* in just one

[77] De Visscher, *op. cit.* pp. 175–7. Hence, *ibid.* p. 203, he regards the trial of Marius Priscus for judicial corruption as being under the Lex Cornelia 'inter sicarios', not the extortion law.

[78] Above p. 10 f.

[79] *De Inventione* 2, 59–60: 'non enim oportet in recuperatorio iudicio eius malefici de quo inter sicarios quaeritur praeiudicium fieri'.

[80] De Visscher, *op. cit.* pp. 178 f.

[81] The question has been discussed in part by W. W. Buckland, 'Civil Proceedings against Ex-magistrates in the Republic', *JRS* 27, 37 ff. He holds that at most even citizens could only bring a civil action in respect of things done by a magistrate in his private capacity. A comparison of the stories of abuse of *imperium* in Livy 42, 1, 7–11, before the Lex Calpurnia, and in Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* X, 3, afterwards, is instructive. Actions *de vi publica* did not concern provincials directly, *Dig.* 48, 6.

[82] For the inadequate checks on consular and praetorian *imperium* in general see Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, I[3] 705 f., 209 ff.

respect in relation to the persons and property of provincials—'cogere capere conciliare pecuniam' was forbidden. It is far from clear how even the most reprehensible of murders, judicial or otherwise, could fail to be covered by the nature of *imperium*. Hence even at a late date and even in the realm of extortion the servants of a proconsul could plead that they were not responsible for their own acts when under the orders of the holder of *imperium*: 'esse . . . se provinciales et ad omne proconsulum imperium metu cogi'.[83] Hence it is difficult to understand, on von Premerstein's interpretation, what the 'other charges' could be about.

So then, whatever the offences were that were excluded by the s.c., they were concerned with extortion or were covered by the extortion law. If the principle is accepted that the s.c. is solely procedural and did not alter the sanctions of the law, it should follow that the Lex Iulia distinguished between simple extortion and extortion in aggravating circumstances, i.e. with violence. For the former it provided no more than the *infamia* inherent in condemnation by a *iudicium publicum*, but for the latter it added the capital penalty. Strictly it should also follow, from the principle, that the simple restitution of the s.c. was included in the Julian law, either for all forms or for the more moderate forms of extortion.[84] If so, then the Lex Iulia was in this respect milder than the Cornelian law, and provided a scale of financial penalties corresponding to a scale of political penalties, adjusting the penalty to the enormity of the offence. But it is simpler to allow that the s.c. did in fact change the rate of restitution, which on the principles of *recuperatio* and *condictio* was not exactly regarded as a penalty. In either case the later juristic generalisation 'ex lege repetundarum puniuntur prout admiserint' finds its origin in the Julian law (below p. 22).

The Julio-Claudian Period. In the prosecutions recorded by Tacitus there is some difficulty in distinguishing plain extortion cases from those in which a man was also accused of *maiestas*.[85] But comparison of those cases which are clear shows that there is a certain complexity in the extortion law as it then was, both in the charges brought and in the penalties inflicted. It also emerges that the severer penalties were inflicted for extortion in aggravating circumstances. Plain taking of monies was punished by repayment and *infamia* with expulsion from the Senate, but where *saevitia* was proved penalties ranging from expulsion from Italy to complete *exilium* were exacted.

The first case recorded in Tacitus of extortion with *saevitia* punished by exile is that of C. Silanus in A.D. 22.[86] The case was heard in the Senate and the proposal of L. Piso was accepted: 'aqua et igni interdicendum . . . ipsumque in insulam relegandum', though Tiberius changed the particular island and accepted a rider that modified the full financial consequences of the condemnation. In A.D. 23 Lucilius Capito, an equestrian procurator, was accused of some form of extortion with violence: 'si vim praetoris usurpasset manibusque militum usus foret, spreta in eo mandata sua'.[87] His sentence is

[83] Pliny, *Ep.* 3, 9, 15.

[84] *Cf.* De Visscher, *op. cit.* p. 183.

[85] Zumpt, *op. cit.* (1847), pp. 38–40 lists all the Tacitean cases which he recognised as extortion. Those under Tiberius are discussed briefly by R. S. Rogers, *Criminal Trials and Criminal Investigations under Tiberius* (Middletown, Connecticut, 1935).

[86] Tac. *Ann.* 3, 66–69. Despite Tacitus' hint of *maiestas* charges, the precedent of Volesus Messalla (below p. 19), the cross-reference in 4, 15, and Tacitus' own statement 'nec dubium habebatur saevitiae captarumque pecuniarum teneri reum', all combine to show that only the extortion charge was pressed, despite the torture of servile witnesses. *Cf.* Rogers, *op. cit.* pp. 66–70.; *contra*, De Visscher, *op. cit.* p. 190, n. 3.

[87] Tac. *Ann.* 4, 15. Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, 713, n. 1; Rogers, *op. cit.* p. 73.

not known. In A.D. 56 Clodius Quirinalis had similarly abused his position as head of the Ravennate fleet: 'Italiam luxuria saevitiaque adflictavisset'. He anticipated a capital sentence by suicide.[88] In neither of these two cases does Tacitus make it quite clear whether *pecunia capta* was also concerned. But in the case of Sulpicius Camerinus, acquitted in 58, the distinction is very clear: 'saevitiae magis quam captarum pecuniarum crimina obicientes'.[89] In 60 Vibius Secundus, a procurator of Mauretania, who was condemned for extortion and expelled from Italy, is said to have escaped a heavier penalty by Court influence.[90] Finally, in 70 there is an exact parallel to the case of C. Silanus, the condemnation of Antonius Flamma: 'damnatur lege repetundarum et exilio ob saevitiam'.[91] There may be added a case where the charge was not *saevitia* but acceptance of a bribe *ob rem iudicandam*; for this P. Suillius was expelled from Italy.[92]

Over against these cases in which some form of capital penalty is discernible stand others in which the punishment is limited at most to repayment and *infamia*. For Granius Marcellus, who was certainly tried by the short process of the s.c. Calvisianum in A.D. 15, there is no record of the penalty.[93] But Cadius Rufus in 49, Cossutianus Capito in 57, and Pedius Blaesus in 59, all lost no more than their seats in the Senate: they were all restored later through Court favour.[94] An unknown consular also suffered no more than *infamia*.[95] Tacitus in the *Histories* regards this penalty as normal: 'redditus . . . senatorius locus; repetundarum criminibus sub Claudio . . . ceciderant'.[96]

The prevailing view about these cases is that the penalties above *infamia* were determined not by the Julian law but by the *auctoritas* of the Senate, and that they represent the development of the senatorial court as a separate source of law.[97] The objection to this view is that in other cases heard by the Senate, in which varying degrees of the capital sentence were awarded, the law already provided the maximum penalty. The surprising thing is that the Senate should have been able and willing to increase the penalty of a law which, according to Mommsen and von Premerstein, had been deliberately kept moderate and even decreased by Augustus himself. It is particularly surprising that this change should have been made early in the reign and under the authority of Tiberius, who claimed to observe all Augustan precedents 'vice legis'. The Tacitean evidence would agree with the conclusion that the Julian law provided the penalty of repayment and *infamia* for plain extortion, and capital punishment for extortion with *saevitia*. Such a sliding scale would give scope for the activity of the senatorial court apparent in the diverse sentences recorded by Tacitus. Why else should

[88] Tac. *Ann.* 13, 30. Zumpt omits, but the case is in a list of extortion cases; 'luxuria saevitiaque' is merely a variant form of 'repetundarum reus' like 'provincia avare habita' in the same passage.

[89] Tac. *Ann.* 13, 52.

[90] *Ibid.* 14, 28. *Cf.* Tac. *Hist.* 2, 10.

[91] Tac. *Hist.* 4, 45.

[92] Tac. *Ann.* 4, 31. *Cf.* Zumpt, *op. cit.* p. 38; Rogers, *op. cit.* p. 83. Cases omitted as doubtful include that of C. Silius and his wife Sosia (*Ann.* 4, 19–20), mainly an extortion case but complicated by *maiestas*; Sosia certainly was punished for complicity in extortion, *cf.* the rider of Cotta, *loc. cit.* 20. Tacitus says: 'saevitum in bona non ut stipendariis pecuniae redderentur quorum nemo repetebat'. Were the charges of 'saevitia' only? Rogers, *op. cit.* p. 77, underestimates the element of extortion. The result was suicide. In the case of Pomponius Labeo (*Ann.* 6, 29; Cassius Dio 58, 24) the charge was 'male administratae provinciae'; Dio mentions 'gifts'. The result was suicide, but Tacitus gives a wrong legal explanation of the motive; *cf.* Rogers, *op. cit.* p. 151.

Statilius Taurus, in *Ann.* 12, 59, was charged with extortion and 'magicae superstitiones', and committed suicide.

[93] Tac. *Ann.* 1, 74. *Cf.* De Visscher, *op. cit.* p. 186.

[94] Rufus: Tac. *Ann.* 12, 22; *Hist.*, 1, 77. Capito: *Ann.* 13, 33; 14, 48. Blaesus: *Ann.* 14, 18; *Hist.* 1, 77.

[95] Suet., *Otho* 2, 1.

[96] *Hist.* 1, 77. Uncertain sentences are: Caesius Cordus, *Ann.* 3, 38; 70, evidently less than exile; Vipsanius Laenas, *Ann.* 13, 30.

[97] *Cf.* De Visscher, *op. cit.* pp. 184, 192–3, 204 ff. He does not attempt to sort out the Julio-Claudian cases, *cf.* below p. 24.

the insignificant knight Clodius Quirinalis commit suicide if the penalty of the law was only *infamia*, or why should Vibius Secundus have feared the capital penalty for a mere conviction of extortion? In the case of Sulpicius Camerinus there is no suggestion that *saevitia*, though distinguished from *pecuniae captae*, came under a different law.

A closer examination of the first of these cases, that of C. Silanus, casts some light. Tiberius in fact invoked a precedent of Augustus before the senators gave their *sententiae*. It was that of Volesus Messalla, who as proconsul of Asia executed 300 men in one day.[98] Thus it would seem that this was only the second case of *saevitia* heard by the Senate. It is fairly clear that some extension of the law was involved that required the Senate's authority. Either the penalty of the law was being increased—the usual view—or its scope was being widened. Even without the indications of the s.c. Calvisianum the constant connexion of *saevitia* with the *lex repetundarum* would suggest that the Lex Iulia already provided the capital penalty for extortion with violence, but made no provision for violence alone, i.e. abuse of the *imperium* as such, although some misuses of *imperium* affecting the Roman State, which had nothing to do with extortion, had been brought under the extortion law by Caesar.[99] It may be suggested that the object of the senatorial decision in the two cases of Messalla and Silanus was to apply the full penalty of the Julian law attaching to misuse of *imperium* to the offence of *saevitia* unaccompanied by extortion. Such a view would explain why Tacitus makes some distinction between *saevitia* and *captae pecuniae*, and yet regards both as coming within the scope of the extortion law.

The most ambiguous case is that of Antonius Flamma: 'damnatur lege repetundarum et exilio ob saevitiam'. Tacitus' words were taken by Zumpt as clear evidence that *saevitia* was punished by another law, not the Julian, and that the latter did not exceed *infamia* in its penalties.[100] The exact meaning of the Latin is elusive, and consideration only makes it less certain; the *et* may be conjunctive or disjunctive. The passage comes from the *Histories*, not the *Annals*; it is reminiscent of the attitude of Pliny the Younger to contemporary cases, and may reflect the view which Tacitus took of the law before he acquired a fuller knowledge of its working in the Julio-Claudian period (below p. 24). In any case, here as elsewhere *saevitia* is mentioned in close connexion with an extortion offence as incurring an increased penalty.

The solution lies also in the effect of the short process introduced by the s.c. Calvisianum, to which more influence may be attributed than has hitherto been allowed. If there was a scale of penalties under the Julian law, the s.c. would have had the effect of making it rare for the higher penalties to be invoked. The cumulative effect of the cases recorded by Tacitus under Claudius and Nero is to suggest that the short process had become normal. Even when the longer process involving a full-scale trial was invoked against Pompeius Silvanus, he had no difficulty in getting the short process adopted instead, during the preliminary discussion in the Senate.[101] Hence it may well be that the short process of the s.c. came to be regarded as the normal form of an extortion trial, and its penalty the normal penalty. Thus Tacitus, with his well-known dislike of technical terms, and influenced by contemporary interpretations, could easily

[98] *Cf.* De Visscher, *op. cit.* p. 190, n. 3. De Visscher misses the connexion between Messalla's massacres and the Tacitean *saevitia*. For Messalla Tac. *Ann.* 3, 68; Seneca, *de Ira* 2, 5.

[99] Above p. 13.

[100] Zumpt, *op. cit.* (1847), p. 28. *Cf.* De Visscher similarly, *op. cit.* p. 191.

[101] Tac. *Ann.* 13, 52, below p. 24.

give the impression that penalties inflicted by the longer process were in excess of the law. It will be seen shortly how similar is his account of the trial of Silanus in A.D. 22 to Pliny's descriptions of trials some eighty years later in which he and Tacitus took active part.

Saevitia and *pecuniae captae*, then, were regarded by Tacitus' sources as two forms of the extortion charge, and it seems that, at the time when the s.c. Calvisianum was in full force, crimes exceeding simple extortion were punished by a capital penalty. It is very hard to dissociate this penalty from the Lex Iulia. If there was any innovation it was Augustan, and arose from the case of Volesus; but it is hard to believe that Augustus introduced in this case by senatusconsultum alone a new capital offence affecting the senatorial class, without securing the traditional if nominal sanction of the people. On the other hand it agrees with all that is known of Augustus and Tiberius that an existing law should have been widened by interpretation to cover something for which there was no sanction in the existing statutes.

The Trajanic Period. The detailed accounts in Pliny's letters of extortion trials are more straightforward than the Tacitean evidence and need less discussion.[102] That of Marius Priscus is the most illuminating.[103] He abandoned his defence before the full Senate, and sought the short process of trial in the form which it had then assumed. This is described as *dari iudices*, and the function of these 'iudices' seems at first sight to have been reduced to an examination of particular accounts, analogous to the Republican 'litis aestimatio'. Whether or not technical condemnation came only after the jury had given its decision, as will be argued below, condemnation in this form involved only *infamia* and consequent loss of senatorial status: 'stabat modo consularis modo septemvir epulonum, iam neutrum'.[104] The objection had, however, been raised: 'excessisse Priscum immanitate et saevitia crimina quibus dari iudices possent'.[105] The defence in answer pleaded 'ne quid ultra repetundarum legem quaereretur',[106] while diverse voices maintained or denied that the Senate was free to enquire beyond the scope of the law: 'cognitionem senatus lege conclusam', and to fit the penalty to the crime: 'quantum admisisset reus tantum vindicandum'.[107] The special jurors continued their enquiry while, or before, the Senate examined the accomplices of Marius. The new charges were that Marius took, and the others gave, monies to secure judicial murders, i.e. the charges were of extortion with *saevitia*, not of *saevitia* alone. Finally a proposal was adopted by which Marius was expelled from Rome and Italy, in addition to the restitution exacted by the special jury, and his chief accomplices were similarly punished.[108] Some had, however, proposed that no extra penalty should be exacted from Marius for the *saevitia*, and one accomplice, though found guilty, was not even expelled from the Senate, but simply excluded from the holding of provinces. That is, the Senate reduced the penalty below what had hitherto been the minimum even for extortion without *saevitia*.

After this it is not surprising to find that in the case of Julius Bassus, who was charged with a very slight offence, it was proposed that he should suffer no penalty

[102] De Visscher has analysed them in detail, *op. cit.* pp. 194 ff. The following remarks assume the conclusions reached by De V. in respect of procedure, with the modifications suggested below p. 23.

[103] Pliny, *Ep.* 2, 11.

[104] *Ibid.* s. 12.

[105] *Ibid.* s. 2.

[106] *Ibid.* s. 3.

[107] *Ibid.* s. 4.

[108] *Ibid.* s. 19.

beyond repayment: 'salva dignitate iudices dandos'.[109] The principle was maintained in this case that the Senate had power 'mitigare leges et intendere', but those who maintained the letter of the law said that it was not consistent 'retinere in senatu cui iudices dederis'.[110] Baebius Massa, condemned under Domitian, may also have remained in the Senate, in which he certainly spoke once after conviction.[111] In the case of the agents of Caecilius Classicus, who himself died before trial, the sentences of *relegatio* were regarded by Pliny as a special punishment: 'pluribus damnatis atque *etiam* relegatis';[112] this case was heard by the Senate and not by a special jury.

Pliny's evidence, taken by itself, suggests at first sight that the Julian law knew no higher penalty than *infamia*, and that sentences of *relegatio* were due to the arbitrary decision of the Senate. Four times what Pliny calls the 'lex repetundarum' is associated with the procedure 'dare iudices' and the penalty of *infamia*, and it is clearly stated that to enquire about *saevitia* is to go beyond the scope of the law. The evidence of Pliny cannot, however, be detached from the evidence of Tacitus, to secure a complete picture. It has been argued above that in Tacitus *saevitia* and *pecunia capta* are both regarded as falling under the extortion law. The particular value of Pliny is that he makes certain what is sometimes not certain in the *Annals*, that the penalties above *infamia* were really inflicted for *saevitia* and not for any latent charge of *maiestas*. Hence in the period covered by the *Annals* it should follow that the *poena saevitiae* was the *poena legis*. In so far as Pliny departs from this view he may well represent a development in the attitude of lawyers and advocates to this law. It is notable that it is in Tacitus' earlier work, the *Histories*, that he most closely approximates to the view of Pliny. In the maturer *Annals* he is more careful.

How then to account for this marked change in legal theory? Largely it is due to the gradual abandonment of the longer process during the Julio-Claudian period, followed by a decided decrease of senatorial activity in the Flavian period, to which Pliny bears explicit witness, especially under Domitian, when also governors were too strictly supervised or too frightened of the Princeps for serious cases of extortion to be common.[113] With the revival of the senatorial court under Trajan the necessity for dealing with charges of *saevitia* recurred. The commoner short process had survived more tenaciously and with little change,[114] but the method of handling *saevitia* was remodelled. The Trajanic situation was in many ways the opposite of that for which the s.c. Calvisianum was framed under Augustus. Now it was the crimes involving capital offences that needed special consideration. The Priscus case, the first in the series, reads very much as though at that date the more serious charges were in desuetude, and nobody knew the correct procedure. It is a particular instance of that 'iuris senatorii oblivio quaedam et ignorantia' to which Pliny refers in another context.[115]

It is not surprising that in this atmosphere the amateurs of public law who disgraced the Trajanic Senate commonly held that the Lex Repetundarum did not go beyond the penalty of *infamia*, and that anything more was an extra added by the *auctoritas* of the

[109] Pliny, *Ep.* 4, 9, 16.
[110] *Ibid.* s. 17 and 19.
[111] *Ibid.* 7, 33, 4 and 7.
[112] *Ibid.* 3, 9, 22.
[113] *Ibid.* 8, 14, 2–11; Suet. *Dom.* 8, 2. Even under Trajan an extortion case might be referred to the Princeps in special circumstances; *cf.* Pliny, *Ep.* 7, 6, 6 and 7, 10, where the intention of the provincials was in doubt.
[114] *Cf.* Baebius Massa above, and Suet. *Dom.* 8, 2; the latter was not a normal case of *iudices dati* according to De Visscher, *op. cit.* 191.
[115] Pliny, *Ep.* 8, 14, 2.

Senate. It is remarkable that Pliny throughout his *Letters*, including his official correspondence with Trajan, seems very ill acquainted with legal texts. Cicero may be despised as rhetorical and a poor lawyer, yet he sprinkles his speeches and letters with the *ipsissima verba* of laws and senatusconsulta. These are conspicuously absent from Pliny. It is indeed apparent that the Senate as a law court was not greatly interested in strict adhesion to the letter of the law, either in penalties or in procedure. In the case of Varenus the Senate extends to the accused what had hitherto been the prerogative of the prosecution, the right to summon witnesses from the provinces.[116] Pliny's comment is: 'impetravimus rem nec lege comprehensam nec satis usitatam, iustam tamen'. Again it is contrary to the spirit of the law, and the letter of the s.c., that a man should stand trial twice for the same offence; yet Marius Priscus was allowed to suffer the gravest *praeiudicium* by the shorter process before facing the charges of *saevitia*.[117] Again, in the matter of accomplices the Trajanic Senate extended the law,[118] and an attempt was made at the trial of Bassus to undermine a part of the law itself about the taking of gifts.[119]

The administration of the Lex Iulia as such was in fact fast collapsing at this time. Hence it is unsafe to use the Plinian evidence alone to establish the scope of the law in earlier periods. At this date even the penalty of *infamia* could be withheld by a vote of the Senate, and it may be concluded that those parts of the Julian law which inflicted capital punishment had long been in desuetude. This was one of the most remarkable consequences of the development of the s.c. Calvisianum.

Evidence of the Digest. The few statements to be found in the *Digest* referring to the penalties of the Lex Julia agree every well with this sketch of its history. In the title (48, 11) *De Lege Iulia Repetundarum*, Venuleius Saturninus is familiar with *infamia* as a consequence of conviction for extortion: 'hac lege damnatus testimonium publice dicere aut iudex esse postulareve prohibetur'.[120] So elsewhere Cassius Longinus, the only witness of the first century A.D., in a brief reference.[121] According to Papinian this did not apply to prosecutors subsequently condemned for *calumnia* under the law.[122] But according to Macer the higher penalties were in his day considered to be *extra ordinem*: 'hodie ex lege repetundarum extra ordinem puniuntur et plerumque vel exilio puniuntur vel etiam durius prout admiserint'.[123] These words, on which Mommsen principally relied for his view of the *original* penalties, are very reminiscent of Pliny's remarks. They seem to mean that the capital penalty was given in cases to which it was not originally applied by the law, and the next sentence instances the case of governors who in the heat of the moment, 'calore inducti', and without the passing of money, execute an innocent man or one whom they ought not to punish. Though these latter words may not be pure Macer, they agree very well with the situation in Pliny.[124] The law was gradually extended under the general heading of *saevitia* to cover cases to which it did not originally apply. This, in effect, was a check on the *imperium* and *coercitio* of magistrates, such as would become necessary with the gradual levelling of the distinction between citizens and provincials during the Principate, and the disappearance of the

[116] Pliny, *Ep.* 5, 20, 7.
[117] *Cf.* De Visscher, *op. cit.* pp. 203–4.
[118] Pliny, *Ep.* 3, 9, 14–15; 17.
[119] Gifts, *ibid.* 4, 9, 17. Caepio's sententia: 'non sine ratione veniam dedit facto vetito quidem, non tamen inusitato'. *Cf.* also the proposed s.c. to legalise the general grant of 'testium evocatio' to the defence, *ibid.* 6, 5, 2; this shows the uneasiness of the better lawyers at the casual treatment of procedure.
[120] *Dig.* 48, 11, 6, 1.
[121] *Ibid.* 1, 9, 2.
[122] *Ibid.* 22, 5, 13.
[123] *Ibid.* 48, 11, 7, 3.
[124] They were bracketed as a gloss by Beseler.

Republican notion of the unlimited power of the *imperium*-holder. It does not follow from Macer that no capital penalty was known to him in the text of the Julian law, only that the application of severe penalties went in his day beyond the original enactment.[125] Macer's evidence, moreover, explicitly contradicts De Visscher's view that capital punishment for offences like that of Marius Priscus was under a law other than the extortion law.

Thus the imperial jurists contain the same scheme of punishments, *infamia* for ordinary cases and capital sentences for serious charges, as is documented as early as the time of Tiberius, implied in the s.c. of 4 B.C., and even hinted in Cicero.

VI. LATER HISTORY OF THE SHORTER PROCESS

The preceding sketch of the penalties of the Julian law needs to be completed by some account of the later history of the procedure introduced by the s.c. Calvisianum, if only to substantiate some assumptions that have been made during the discussion.

The tendency, in some recent discussions of extortion procedure under the Principate, has been to minimise the connexion between the juries of the s.c. and the 'iudices dati' of Pliny. Stroux and others go so far as to regard the s.c. as ephemeral and rapidly displaced by the growth of the senatorial court and the establishment of new 'iudices dati' to whom only the 'litis aestimatio' was referred.[126] Against this De Visscher has maintained that the procedure in Pliny is in essentials the same as that laid down by the s.c.[127] His main point is that Stroux has greatly underestimated the importance, in the s.c., of the preliminary investigation of the Senate, from which there developed the custom of examining the charges fully before referring them to the jurors, whose function thus became similar to but not identical with 'litis aestimatio'.

De Visscher's interpretation may be clarified in a few particulars. Ambiguity derives largely from the fact that in the s.c. the initiative rests with the provincials, but in Pliny it seems to rest with the defendant: 'omissa defensione iudices petiit'.[128] The case of Julius Bassus, however, makes it clear that these words describe the motive of Priscus rather than the actual procedure, and mean that if Priscus kept quiet the Senate would allot jurors automatically. It was for the Senate to decide that the law applied—'lege repetundarum teneri reum'—and either to give jurors or else, as in the case of Marius, to initiate a wider enquiry.[129] That the procedure was in essentials still that of the s.c. is borne out by the fact that 'testium evocatio', excluded by the s.c. from the short process, was still limited to serious cases.[130]

Again, in the s.c. it is the job of the jury to give a verdict. In Pliny it seems at first sight as though the accused was regarded as already condemned when he was referred to jurors. Closer examination shows that it is only after Marius has been before his jury that the sentence takes effect: 'stabat modo consularis etc. . . . iam neutrum'.[131] At the second session of the Senate he is accordingly absent, whereas when he was 'given jurors' he was still a senator. The essential difference between the two periods is

[125] 'vel exilio puniuntur *vel etiam durius*'.
[126] Stroux, *art. cit.* p. 135; Premerstein, *art. cit.* (1931), p. 455.
[127] De Visscher, *op. cit.* pp. 197–202.
[128] Pliny, *Ep.* 2, 11, 2.
[129] *Ibid.* 4, 9, 16. *Cf.* De Visscher, *op. cit.* p. 201.
[130] Pliny, *Ep.* 5, 20, 7.
[131] *Ibid.* 2, 11, 9 and 12–13. De V., *op. cit.* pp. 220 f.

factual rather than theoretical. The Augustan jurors can acquit or condemn, but the Trajanic jurors must condemn on most counts because the preliminary hearing has, in fact, established a *praeiudicium*. The distinction between the function of these jurors and the Republican 'litis aestimatio' is that to each charge these jurors have to give a verdict of 'fecisse videri' or 'non fecisse videri' -ἀκουέτωσαν καὶ διαγεινωσκέτωσαν —before they assess damages—τοσοῦτον ἀποδιδόναι κελευέτωσαν.[132] However, it remains true that in Pliny's day the essential part of *all* extortion trials was the investigation before the Senate. It is there, and not before the *iudices*, that the decisive pleas are made on both sides.[133] Bassus is virtually condemned when jurors are given, and hence the Senate can provide in anticipation that he shall not suffer *infamia*.[134] The main factor in assuring this change may well be, as De Visscher, following Arangio-Ruiz, maintains, that the Senate arrogated to itself the right, contrary to the letter of the s.c., of refusing to give jurors at all if it was not convinced of the guilt of the accused.[135]

Had this change already been effected in the Julio-Claudian period? De Visscher observes that the trial of Granius Marcellus in A.D. 15, and probably that of Caesius Cordus in A.D. 22, were exactly in accordance with the s.c.; a preliminary examination reduced the case to one of simple extortion, which was then referred to a special jury.[136] But after this he finds no certain traces of the short process in the Julio-Claudian period, largely because he does not connect the accusations of *saevitia* directly with the extortion law. Above, a distinction was drawn between trials involving *saevitia* and the capital penalty and those involving *infamia* and simple extortion.[137] It is a fair surmise that some if not all of the latter had been heard by the short process. This would explain the lack of information in Tacitus about many of these cases. When they passed from the Senate to the special jury they would cease to be recorded in detail in the *acta senatus*.

Fresh information can be extracted from Tacitus' reference to the trial of Pompeius Silvanus, of which De Visscher seems not to have noticed the relevance.[138] The prosecution evidently summoned Silvanus on an ordinary extortion charge by the longer process, because they sought to fetch witnesses from afar, i.e. from the province: 'magna vis accusatorum circumsteterat poscebatque tempus evocandorum testium'.[139] But Silvanus objected, demanded that he should be tried forthwith, and succeeded in this: 'reus ilico defendi poscebat, valuitque'. This can only refer to the short process of the s.c., since it was only by the s.c. that the prosecution's right to summon witnesses from overseas was suspended. In the same year, the longer process was also set on foot against P. Suillius, but abandoned when it was found to involve a year's enquiry: 'annuam inquisitionem impetraverant'.[140] This was the very cumbersomeness that had led to the establishment of the short process.

The Tacitean evidence thus shows, first, that both processes still existed in the reign of Nero, for simple extortion; second, that the longer process was rapidly falling into

[132] Ll. 130–4.

[133] *Cf.* De Visscher, *op. cit.* p. 201.

[134] Pliny, *Ep.* 4, 9, 17: 'Macro legem intuenti consentaneum fuit damnare eum qui . . . munera acceperat'.

[135] De Visscher, *op. cit.* pp. 206–8; V. Arangio-Ruiz, *art. cit.* (1928), p. 351.

[136] Granius Marcellus: Tac. *Ann.* 1, 74. Cordus: *ibid.* 3, 38; 70. De Visscher, *op. cit.* pp. 187, 189. If Cordus was sent before the jury, why not others where Tacitus' language is similar?

[137] Above p. 20.

[138] *Ann.* 13, 52.

[139] Tacitus implies, though he does not explicitly say, that the witnesses were from the province; the s.c. allowed subpoenaed witnesses from Italy only, and required the trial to be finished in thirty days.

[140] Tac. *Ann.* 13, 43.

disuse; third, that at this date the procedure before the special juries was still a genuine trial, because the adoption of the short process for Silvanus evidently did not involve his automatic condemnation. It is a fair assumption that, where Tacitus indicates a penalty not above *infamia* and yet seems well acquainted with the content of the charges, as in the trial of Pedius Blaesus, the case was heard in the full Senate,[141] and that where no details are recorded and the penalty is still *infamia*, there the short process was used. It is noteworthy that in all the Tacitean evidence re-examined here, there is no hint of the survival of the process before a panel court, the old *iudicium publicum*, in the Julio-Claudian period.

VII. CONCLUSION

The theories developed above may be summarised thus. The early extortion laws limited the consequences of condemnation to fines and *infamia*. In the Lex Cornelia the penalties were not decreased, though the balance of evidence is against the view that this law made extortion a capital offence. The Lex Iulia brought under the extortion law certain offences which hitherto had had no connexion with it, and introduced a scale of punishments culminating in the capital penalty for extortion with violence. Precedents under Augustus and Tiberius extended capital punishment to abusive acts of violence unaccompanied by extortion, designated in the literary sources as *saevitia*. But the increasing popularity of the short process introduced by the s.c. Calvisianum of 4 B.C., which excluded the capital sentence, led to the disuse of the longer process, now transferred to the senatorial court. The punishment of *infamia* thus came to be regarded as the normal punishment for extortion, and under Trajan the treatment of serious charges was assimilated to that of other capital offences, the Senate using its *auctoritas* to vary the sentences without regard for the letter of the law.

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[141] Tac. *Ann.* 14, 18.

Addendum. The condemnation of Cossutianus Capito (n. 94) is a clear case of the Shorter Process, and anticipates the first phase of the Priscus trial: 'postremo defensionem omisit ac lege repetundarum condemnatus est'.

Pliny, *Ep.* 2,19,8, strongly supports the view that the criminal charges against Priscus (n. 77 and p. 20) fell under the extortion law: 'inesse repetundarum legi quod postularemus'.

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The following abbreviations are used throughout:

Atti III Congr. Arch. Crist.	*Atti del III Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana, Ravenna 1932* (Studi di Antichita cristiana pubblicati per cura del Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, No. VIII, Roma, 1934).
Atti IV Congr. Arch. Crist.	*Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana, Roma 1938* (same series, No. XVI, Roma, 1938).
B.S.R.A. Alex.	*Bulletin de la Société Royale d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie.*
Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*	Cabrol and Leclerq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie.*
De Cosson, *Mareotis*	A. De Cosson, *Mareotis; a short account of the history and ancient monuments of the north-western desert of Egypt and of Lake Mareotis*, London, 1935.
Drescher, *Apa Mena*	James Drescher, *Apa Mena* (Publications de la Société Copte, textes et documents, No. 1) Cairo, 1946.
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A. CHRISTIAN ALEXANDRIA AND THE SHRINE OF ST. MENAS

It is one of the saddest losses of history that of Antioch and Alexandria, two of the great early centres of Christian art and learning, hardly a stone should now be standing above ground. Of the two, Alexandria is in the worse case. Antioch can at least boast the magnificent series of mosaics unearthed before the war by the Princeton Expedition.[1] At Alexandria on the other hand there is little chance that excavation can ever reveal any substantial remains of the classical city, which was ruthlessly destroyed in the last century to make way for the expansion of its modern successor; and whereas in the case of the minor arts the contribution of Alexandria to the contemporary art of the Mediterranean, whether in its relation to the Byzantine world or to the nascent Coptic art of Upper Egypt, can at least be usefully discussed in the light of surviving ivories, textiles, manuscript illustrations, and the like,[2] in the field of architecture and of architectural ornament any such enquiry is hampered by a vacuum at the heart of the problem. The questions so well defined by Kitzinger in regard to Coptic sculpture[3] are capable of wider application. In particular, the extent of Alexandria's contribution to the development of Christian architecture during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries is a matter of the first importance to students of Coptic and of late-classical and Byzantine archaeology alike.

A possible line of enquiry is suggested by the actual sculptural remains from Alexandria itself, now collected in the city's Greco-Roman museum. These have never been seriously studied; and though perhaps too scanty to afford in themselves a basis for any far-reaching conclusions, they have nevertheless a decided and distinctive character, which warrants study.

A second, and perhaps more fruitful, source of information is to be sought in the archaeological exploration of the Maryût, the region which lies to the west and south-west of Alexandria, in the angle between the sea and the western edge of the Delta.[4]

[1] Doro Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Princeton, 1947; C. R. Morey, *The Mosaics of Antioch*, London and New York, 1938.

[2] A recent and fundamental study is that of C. R. Morey, *Early Christian Art*, Princeton, 1942. A major point still in dispute is the extent to which the city of Alexandria continued to be the fertilising, as it had been the formative, centre for the 'Alexandrian', impressionist style. On this see notably review by Miss Der Nersessian, *Art Bulletin* XXV, 1943, 80–6; and reply by Morey, *op. cit.* pp. 160–6. See also section E, below, pp. 60–71.

[3] See bibliography, p. 26; and section E, below, pp. 60–71.

[4] The history and topography of the Maryût is well summarised by A. de Cosson, *Mareotis*, see bibliography, p. 26.

This region, which may for convenience be defined as stretching as far as el-Hammâm to the west and southwards to the belt of sand-dunes to the north of the Wadi'n-Natrûn, is now desert, occupied only by nomadic tribesmen. For a period of antiquity, however, and as late as Roman times, it carried a large settled population, the remains of whose farms and villages can be seen in very large numbers over the whole area. Its abandonment was not due to any major climatic change, although there is evidence of a gradual and continuous desiccation since early dynastic times. The recurrent records of flocks and herds captured by the early Pharaohs in areas that are now uninhabitable desert are too numerous and too consistent to allow of any other conclusion.[5] However, the primary causes of its eventual desertion were other. Firstly, and perhaps decisively, there was the collapse of the strong Ptolemaic and Roman government, which alone could ensure the security of these settlements against the ravages of desert tribesmen. Secondly, and largely as a consequence of this decrease of security, there was a slackening in the methods of water conservation. Wells and cisterns were neglected, and the *kurûm* (sing. *karm*, literally 'a vineyard'), the rectangular banked enclosures for the capture of the torrential winter rains and an essential feature of the local economy, were allowed to lapse. Thirdly, there was the disastrous drop in the level of the fresh-water table, which took place with the desiccation of Lake Maryût. This lake, which in classical times stretched well beyond the modern Burg el-Arab, and carried large river-vessels to the quays which can still be seen on the sites of the deserted lake-side cities of Taposiris and Mareotis, relied for its replenishment on the annual flooding of the Canopic branch of the Nile. After this became silted up, probably in the fifth or sixth century, the position was for a time maintained by the Alexandria canal; but despite constant attention this, too, passed out of use.[6] The losses from evaporation were no longer replaced, and the lake rapidly shrank to the dimensions of a brackish marsh. It was the resultant drop in the fresh-water table throughout the regions adjacent to the lake which dealt a final blow to the lingering remains of classical settlement.[7]

The farms and villages of the Maryût must have been almost entirely dependent on Alexandria, to which they sent wine, fruit, and market-produce, and in return received a part of the merchandise that flowed through the twin harbours of that great city. With the advent of Christianity, although the famous early monastic settlements of Nitria and Scetis lay outside the Maryût proper, within it are to be seen the remains of a number of contemporary buildings and communities which, though less austere, no doubt reflect more truly the life and art of the capital itself: at Taposiris (Abu Sir, near Burg el-Arab), a monastery built within the enclosure of the great Ptolemaic

[5] De Cosson, *op. cit.* pp. 19–23.

[6] Ammianus (xxii. 15. 10) in the late fourth century saw the Canopic ('Heracleotic') branch. The Arab writers, on the other hand, all speak of the Alexandria canal. The process was probably gradual and it seems to have been complete by the twelfth century. Prince Omar Toussoun, *Mémoire sur les anciennes branches du Nil* (Mémoires présentés à la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie, vol. I, fasc. 2, *époque arabe*, pp. 195–7); De Cosson, *op. cit.* chapter XII.

[7] Throughout the permeable sandstones of the coastal region to the west of Alexandria, the fresh-water table rests at sea-level directly upon a bed of salt water. At Mersa Matruh the Romans tapped this supply by an ingenious system of rock-cut channels sited just above sea-level, proving incidentally that here at any rate there has been no appreciable change of sea-level since Roman times (G. F. Walpole, *An Ancient Subterranean Aqueduct West of Matruh*, Survey of Egypt, Paper No. 42, 1932). In Alexandria detailed record of the water-level in the Kom el-Chogâfa catacomb, which has sunk slightly and is now partly water-logged, has revealed a periodic variation of level that is in direct relation to the level of the Nile flood (C. Audubeau Bey, 'Note sur l'affaissement du Nord du Delta égyptien depuis l'empire romain', *Bull. Inst. d'Egypte*, vol. I, 1919, pp. 118, 134).

temple;[8] at Karm Abu Girg, south-east of Amrîyah, a chapel which contained a fine series of frescoes, now in the Greco-Roman Museum at Alexandria;[9] near by, at Kurûm et-Tuwâl, the remains of a small church;[10] south of Amrîyah, at Alam Shaltût, two distinct buildings with Christian frescoes;[11] and far to the south the lonely chapel of Qasr el-Qatāgi.[12] In addition there is hardly an ancient site throughout the Maryût in which it is not possible to pick up the sherds of late Roman *sigillata* pottery, which testify to an intensive occupation between the fourth and seventh centuries.

In the centre of this region, eight miles south of the lake and about forty miles from Alexandria, lay the shrine of St. Menas. It is not easy nowadays to realise the place which this shrine once held in the minds of contemporary Christians, so completely did it later vanish from human record. Yet in its heyday not only was it the national shrine of Coptic Egypt, but foreign pilgrims came to it from the farthest ends of Christendom. The flasks, in which they carried away a drop of oil from the lamp that burned before the saint's tomb, have been found from Provence to Asia Minor, from Hungary to Ethiopia.[13] When, in the ninth century, it was threatened with destruction on the orders of the Caliph (see below, p. 35), the patriarch of Alexandria begged that it be spared in these words: 'Behold, all the churches under my jurisdiction are before thee. This church alone I desire of thee that thou injure not.' His plea was unavailing. As his enemies remarked, 'None of the churches is like this one.' It was no pale replica of the churches of Alexandria, but itself the standard by which they could be judged. Just as in Syria the great pilgrimage church of St. Simeon Stylites gives us a glimpse of the vanished glories of Christian Antioch, so in the deserts of Maryût we can still see something of the Alexandria of St. Athanasius and of his successors.

The site was identified and partially excavated early in the century by Monsignor Kaufmann, who cleared the church and some of the surrounding buildings and removed large quantities of sculpture and other material to Frankfurt. In the words of Professor Monneret de Villard it was 'badly excavated and worse published'. Kaufmann issued several preliminary reports, but of the final report only the first volume ever appeared in print. The plan which appears therein[14] has, however, passed into the standard works of reference; and except for a brief campaign undertaken by Dr. Ev. Breccia in 1926–7 primarily for the purpose of conservation,[15] Kaufmann's conclusions were for thirty years accepted without further verification. They first received critical examination in 1936 when Dr. F. W. Deichmann, accompanied by Dr. A. von Gerkan, visited the site, and subsequently called attention to some of the manifest absurdities of Kaufmann's account.[16]

[8] J. B. Ward Perkins, 'The Monastery of Taposiris Magna', *B.S.R.A. Alex.*, No. 36, 1945, pp. 3–8.

[9] Ev. Breccia in *Municipalité d'Alexandrie: rapport sur la marche du service du musée*, 1912.

[10] R. Eilmann, A. Langsdorff, and H. E. Stier, 'Bericht über die Voruntersuchungen auf den Kurûm el-Tuwâl bei Amrije', *Mitteilungen des deutschen Instituts für Aegyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*, Vol. I, 1930, pp. 106–29.

[11] A. Adriani, *Annuaire du Musée gréco-romain d'Alexandrie*, 1935–9, p. 151 ff. The second building, discovered in 1942 by Mr. C. Musgrave, awaits publication.

[12] De Cosson, *op. cit.* pp. 141–4.

[13] See Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. *Ampoule* and *Ménas*; and Kaufmann, *Zur Ikonographie der Menasampullen*. For Hungary, *Atti III Congr. Arch. Crist.* p. 303 and fig. 12.

[14] Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, abb. 32.

[15] Ev. Breccia, *Municipalité d'Alexandrie: le Musée gréco-romain* 1931–2, pp. 23–4, pls. VIII–X. As will be seen from the present article, the new features then revealed were elements of a structure far more complex than he imagined.

[16] F. W. Deichmann, 'Zu den Bauten der Menasstadt', *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1937, 75–86. Deichmann's observations are characteristically acute, but in the light of all the evidence (some of it only available since) his conclusions are not acceptable.

In July and August 1942 the writer had an opportunity to re-examine at leisure the site in the company of Prof. (then Brigadier) R. E. M. Wheeler. Recent casual digging by persons unknown had revealed several new features of interest; and it was at once apparent that the structural history of the tomb of the saint and of the church immediately above it was far more complex than had previously been appreciated. Excavation was, of course, out of the question. But with the aid of superficial clearing and cleaning, it was possible to make an accurate plan of the existing remains, and from this, coupled with a detailed examination of the visible signs of structural sequence, to deduce with some confidence the history of the development of the shrine and of its buildings.

By a happy coincidence a Coptic version of the history of the shrine, written at some date before A.D. 892–3, has recently been the subject of a study by Mr. James Drescher of the Fuad I University at Cairo, who very kindly allowed the writer access to his then unpublished material. A comparison of the results of the two enquiries is sufficiently striking in itself to warrant a fresh publication of the existing remains. In its initial preparation the writer is much indebted to the help of Mr. Drescher; of Prof. R. E. M. Wheeler, in conjunction with whom the structural remains were examined and planned; of Mr. Alan Rowe, Curator of the Greco-Roman Museum of Alexandria; of Judge C. Brinton, President of the Royal Archaeological Society of Alexandria; and of Major W. Jennings-Bramly of Burg el-Arab. The plan is largely the work of Mr. D. H. White. The writer's subsequent debt to Professor Monneret de Villard will be evident in the pages which follow; and thanks are due to all those, and notably to Dr. Erik Sjöqvist, Professor G. De Angelis D'Ossat, Dr. R. Krautheimer, and Dr. F. W. Deichmann, who have since helped the writer with information and criticism.

B. THE HISTORICAL RECORD

The Menas literature has recently been the subject of a valuable study by James Drescher, in the introduction to his edition of a Coptic manuscript found at Hamouli in the Faiyûm and now in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Cod. M. 590).[17] This manuscript, which is dated 893, contains three compositions, the Martyrdom of St. Menas, the Miracles of St. Menas, and an Encomium on St. Menas compiled after the Arab Invasion of 640 and attributed to John, Archbishop of Alexandria.[18] It owes its importance to its manifestly greater reliability than any of the versions previously available, whether Coptic, Greek, Arabic, or Ethiopic. The Martyrdom and Miracles follow familiar lines, and are of greater interest to the hagiographer than to the historian. The Encomium on the other hand, after an account of the life and martyrdom of the saint, relates how his remains were brought for burial to the Maryût, how they were later discovered and a shrine erected, and how the shrine prospered and developed under various emperors till the Arab Conquest. It is a document which requires interpretation in the light of the clearly expressed prejudices of its author; but it remains

[17] James Drescher, *Apa Mena* (Publications de la Société Copte: Textes et Documents, No. 1), Cairo, 1946. Earlier articles by the same author are: 'St. Menas's Camels once more', *Bulletin de la Société Copte* VII, 1941, 19–32; and 'More about St. Menas', *Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Egypte* XII, 1942, 53–70. It will be obvious in the following paragraphs how much is owed to Dr. Mrescher's painstaking researches; and the writer is further indebted for the loan of portions of Mr. Drescher's manuscript before publication and for much helpful advice.

[18] John III, 677–86, or perhaps more probably John IV, 775–89, who had been *oeconomus* of the Maryût shrine. *P.O.* X, p. 381; XI, p. 605.

unquestionably the most important surviving literary evidence for the foundation and early history of the shrine.

The origins of the cult of St. Menas are shrouded in legend, and from the tangle of improbabilities, contradictions, special pleading, and downright falsehood, which constitute the Menas literature, it is often hard to extract any coherent thread of historical fact. It seems probable that the issue was at the outset confused by the existence of a Phrygian saint of the same name, who was martyred at Cotyaeum, and that the two legends early became assimilated. Certain it is that such of the ancient versions as try to account for the presence, in a remote desert village of the Maryût, of the remains of a saint martyred in Phrygia, fail even by the modest standards of credibility required of such literature. According to one account current in Egypt the saint was a simple camel-herd, who was born, lived, and died in the Maryût. A second version claimed him as an Egyptian of noble birth, whose parents had migrated to Phrygia, where after a period of military service he suffered martyrdom. His body, according to this account, was brought back to Egypt, and after a series of miraculous happenings was buried in the desert. The author of the Encomium, who writes with a strong aristocratic bias, berates 'foolish men seeming to do him honour but rather uttering things unfit about him, some that he belonged to Nepaeiat (*used in Coptic for the Greek* Λιβύη), others that he came from Mareotes, and others that he was a camel-herd'.[19] It is characteristic of the early Coptic Church, a body remarkable rather for its zeal in the faith than for any pedestrian standards of veracity, that it should have preferred instead the strange tale of camels and sea-serpents, and of miraculous journeys by sea and land, which constitutes the first half of the Encomium.

On the whole the version that the Encomium is at embarrassed pains to refute commands respect by its very simplicity. St. Menas of the Maryût may well indeed have been a local saint, who lived and died in modest obscurity; and only later, as the healing fame of his remains came, by some chance, to spread out of all proportion to his fame during life, did he absorb the character and title of an, until then, better-known St. Menas of Cotyaeum.

Attempts by modern commentators to show that the saint was a fictional being, who replaced a local pagan cult, carry no conviction.[20] Extensive excavation has revealed no trace of an earlier shrine, let alone of a shrine sufficiently important to account for the later popularity of the saint;[21] and in general terms, as Drescher remarks, such an hypothesis, however superficially attractive, singularly fails to explain the practical steps whereby in the space of a few years a pagan deity could be convincingly transformed into an allegedly historical martyr. It would have been a very different matter from the often-attested occupation of a pagan shrine by a being such as St. Michael, who was not required to have earthly connexions, or from the absorption of established pagan attributes and festivals by an equally established local saint. This hypothesis raises more problems than it solves.

From the extensive literature which purports to describe the life, martyrdom, and burial of the saint, all that we can really say with certainty is that, at some date before the middle of the fourth century, the body of a certain Menas was found near Este, an

[19] Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 129.
[20] Notably R. Miedema, *De Heilige Menas*, Rotterdam 1913, chapter V.
[21] See below, p. 38.

outlying village of the Maryût; and that it came to acquire a reputation for miraculous powers of healing, which soon spread beyond the borders of Egypt, and within a few years was bringing pilgrims from the farthest ends of the Christian world. The identity of this Menas was early the subject of conflicting accounts, and about the only point upon which all of these agree is that he was in some way connected with the camels with which he was thereafter invariably depicted.

With the discovery, however, of the body, and the spreading fame of its miraculous healing powers, we pass from legend into history. Apart from minor contradictions and obscurities, the account of the growth of the shrine and of its buildings contained in the Encomium is clear and credible. It distinguishes a succession of churches on the site of the grave. The first of these was small and simple:

> 'And so they built over the grave a small oratory like a tetrapylon. They hung a lamp in its midst like the first one. The lamp remained burning, without ever going out, day and night. All who took away of the oil of the lamp to distant lands received healing; so that a great concourse gathered there as well as countless multitudes coming thither at all times unceasingly.'[22]

It was not long, however, before this little oratory became insufficient for the growing number of pilgrims:

> 'And they suffered distress because the place was desert, and they lacked water and the benefit of the Holy Mysteries. Accordingly, the chief citizens of Alexandria and those of Mariotes and all the archons of Egypt besought the holy Athanasius, the archbishop, to build a wondrous memorial church to the glory of God and the holy Apa Mena. . . . God raised up the just and pious king, Jovian. Then the holy Athanasius undertook the carrying-out of the people's request to the glory of God and His blessed martyr. And when the God-loving king, Jovian, heard, he wrote to the *stratelates* of Alexandria that he should help him with money for the building of the church. . . . He brought it to completion in all beauty, adorning it with precious marbles glistening like gold.
>
> 'In the days of the just kings, Valens and Valentinus, his brother, the sons of the king Jovian of happy memory, they wrote to the *augustal* of Alexandria, Tatian.[23] He proclaimed to all the bishops of Egypt the combat (?) of the holy Apa Mena. And so the bishops met together and deposited the remains of the holy Apa Mena in the crypt which had been made for them. And they celebrated the feast of the consecration of the church on the first of Epêp.'[24]

This second building, the memorial church of Athanasius (Archbishop of Alexandria, 326–73), was, it seems, begun under Jovian (363–4). It was substantially completed before the death of Valentinian I in 375, and was consecrated shortly after. It included, it will be noted, a crypt for the body of the saint.

So rapid, however, was the growth of the pilgrimage that soon this building, too,

[22] Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 144.

[23] Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus, *comes sacrarum largitionum* in Egypt, *c.* 375–8, and later Praetorian Prefect, 388–92. Paully-Wissowa, IV. A 2, 2463–7.

[24] Drescher, *Apa Mena*, pp. 144–5.

needed enlargement. The third church was the work of Theophilus (Archbishop of Alexandria, 385–412):

> 'When some time had passed until the days of Theodosius the great, with Arcadius and Honorius, his sons, in the days of the Archbishop Theophilus, there being great peace and prosperity in their reign, (it befell that) when the feast of the blessed martyr came round, on the fifteenth of Hathor, many great multitudes assembled. And they suffered distress because the church could not hold the multitudes but they were standing outside in the desert. And the blessed archbishop, Apa Theophilus, was there. At the sight of the peoples' distress he wrote to Arcadius, the king. And the king ordered the building of a spacious memorial church. And they laboured with royal power and might, with decorative skill like the Temple of Solomon. And he made it one with the memorial church which the holy Athanasius had already built. And when he had brought it to completion in all beauty, he convened a synod of bishops and all the archons of Egypt. They consecrated it in glory and honour.'[25]

Although Theodosius is mentioned, the text indicates clearly that the new church was built under Arcadius, 395–408. It enlarged, but apparently did not wholly replace, that of Athanasius. No mention is made of the crypt, although it is clear from the surviving remains that this, too, was enlarged and radically remodelled.

Before the death of Theophilus in 412 the structure of the great church of St. Menas stood sufficiently complete for the ceremony of consecration. The work of ornament with mosaics and marble panelling no doubt continued for many years afterwards. Two centuries later, in the time of Archbishop Michael I (744–68), a dispute arose over the possession of the shrine between the Coptic Church and the orthodox Christians of Alexandria, a dispute which was finally decided in favour of the Copts after the Archbishop had given the following evidence:

> 'Then the Patriarch answered and said, "Verily my father Theophilus and his successor Timothy were the builders of this church, and it is they also who testify to me that Theophilus founded it and set up its rows of pillars, for there is his name written upon them, and when he died Timothy erected the remainder, since there is his name inscribed. These are my witnesses who testify to this day".'[26]

Timothy was Archbishop from 458 to 480, and his inscription presumably recorded the final completion of the church.

Timothy's contemporary, the Emperor Zeno, 474–91, was, for political reasons, a patron of the Coptic Church. He made benefactions to the monasteries of Scetis, in the Wadi'n-Natrûn, and at the shrine of St. Menas:

> 'Then the Archbishop, Timotheus, told the king, Zeno, about the barbarians who came over Mariotes, afflicting the shrine and all the churches in Mariotes. Then the king ordered all those of senatorial rank in the kingdom to build each of them a palace there. He also wrote to the archons of Alexandria and those of Egypt, that each of them throughout the land should build himself a house there until

[25] Drescher, *Apa Mena*, pp. 145–6.

[26] *P.O.* X, p. 132.

> they made it a city. And so it was built and given the name Martyroupolis. Multitudes gathered to it from every land and resided in it. And the king, Zeno, established also a garrison of 1200 soldiers to guard that place against the inroads of the barbarian horde. And the God-loving king did this as an aid to the whole of Mariotes and the shrine likewise. And he provided their maintenance from the revenues of Mariotes. And he also gave to the shrine some eparchies of Egypt, remitting their taxes that the money might be used for the expenses of the church and the hospices which he built at it.'[27]

The dangers from marauding desert tribesmen and the establishment of a garrison were ominous portents of the time when central authority would no longer be able to afford such protection. As early as the middle of the fifth century the monasteries of Scetis, which were more isolated and exposed, had already thrice been devastated.[28] For the present, however, the shrine of St. Menas was very prosperous, and around it was growing a large civil settlement, which included quarters for the accommodation of visiting pilgrims, similar to those, for example, which can still be seen at Kala'ât Sim'ân, the great shrine of St. Simeon Stylites in Syria. Under Anastasius, 491–518, provision was made also for the well-being of pilgrims on the road. A Praetorian Prefect, Philoxenus, whose name is not elsewhere recorded,

> '. . . built hospices by the lake and rest-houses for the multitude to stay at. And he had the market-place established among them in order that the multitudes might find and buy all their needs. He had spacious depositories constructed where the multitudes could leave their clothes and baggage and everything which they brought to the shrine. When he had completed everything, he called it Philoxenite after himself. He also set up porticoes at different places where the people might rest. And he established watering-places along the roads.'[29]

With the close of the fifth century the period of growth and development came to an end. For the next two centuries we have very little direct information about the history of the shrine. The times were troubled. The increasing weakness of Byzantine rule, culminating in the Arab conquest of Egypt in 640, is clearly reflected in the recurrent record of bedouin forays. About 570 the monasteries of Scetis were sacked for the fourth time and remained desolate for nearly forty years.[30] The shrine itself of St. Menas escaped violence, but the general state of insecurity must have had an adverse effect on the volume of the pilgrimage. On the other hand it would be easy to exaggerate this aspect. As late as the beginning of the ninth century, the revenues derived from the pilgrims were still a considerable factor in the finances of the patriarch:

> 'But famine and plunder began to reappear in Alexandria; and the patriarch (James, 819–30) could not find that which he was wont to give to the churches, for nothing was left to him. And the visits of the faithful from all parts to the martyr St. Mennas at Maryût were interrupted; and with them the patriarch used to trade.'[31]

[27] Drescher, *Apa Mena*, pp. 146–7 and notes *ad loc.* The two Ethiopic versions give the figures of the garrison as 12,000 and as 123,000, figures which fairly mirror the relative reliability of these versions.

[28] In 407, 434, and 444. White II, pp. 154–5.

[29] Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 148.

[30] White II, p. 155.

[31] *P.O.* X, p. 451.

A second passage speaks of

> '. . . the poverty of the church arising from the interruption of the pilgrimages to the church of St. Mennas, the Martyr, in consequence of the continual wars.'[32]

It was these revenues no doubt which lay behind the dispute for the shrine already quoted, in the time of the Archbishop Michael I, 744–68.

The attitude of the Arab conquerors was at first conciliatory. The monks of Scetis received a very favourable charter from 'Amr ibn-el'Asi, respecting their rights and confirming their revenues.[33] It was not until the beginning of the eighth century that the requirements of State revenue brought about a change of policy. It may well be that on this occasion the shrine of St. Menas lost some of its regular income. But it was another hundred years before it suffered major disaster. In 833 the Caliph, al-Mutasîm, decided to remove his capital to Samarra, and to build the new city worthily he sent agents far and wide to collect marble columns and other precious building materials. At Alexandria the task was entrusted to a certain Lazarus (described with characteristic gusto by Severus ibn al-Muqaffa as 'a malignant heretic of the Nestorian sect'), and this agent appears to have done his work with a will:

> 'The People of his foul sect . . . led him out to the church of the martyr, St. Mennas, at Maryût, in their great jealousy against it, and then they said to him: "None of the churches is like this one, for all that thou hast come to seek thou wilt find herein". So that Nestorian hastily arose, by the advice of the informers, and entered the church of the martyr, St. Mennas. And when he looked at the building and its ornaments, and saw the beauty of the columns and coloured marbles which it contained, he marvelled and was amazed and said: "This is what the prince needs. This is here and I knew nothing of it!" '

The protests of the patriarch, Joseph (830–49), were of no avail:

> 'Yet the heretic would not listen to the patriarch's words nor to his request and robbed the church of its coloured marbles and of its unequalled pavement, which was composed of all colours and had no equal, nor was its value known.'

Whereupon, we are told, the patriarch

> '. . . did not cease to mourn night and day for the calamity that had befallen this holy church. And he took care to restore it quickly. For he sent for surface decoration from Misr and Alexandria, and began to repair with all beautiful ornament the places from which the pavements has been stripped, until no-one who looked at them could perceive that any thing was gone from them.'[34]

Brave words! Joseph did indeed succeed in rebuilding a church within the shell of the old church of Athanasius; and the crypt beneath it had perhaps been left undisturbed. But the great church of Theophilus was abandoned to ruin, and some of its materials used in the new building. The glories of the shrine were gone.

[32] *P.O.* X, pp. 467–8. [33] White II, p. 268. [34] *P.O.* X, p. 512 ff.

It was soon to suffer fresh misfortune. In 852, as a result of disorders at the annual festival of the martyr, the governor of Alexandria imprisoned the patriarch and seized the entire revenues of the feast.[35] A few years later, during the patriarchate of Shenouda, 859–80, it was to receive what may well have proved a mortal blow at the hands of the bedouin, who for a time gained complete control of the Maryût, levying taxes and seizing the lands and property of the church of St. Menas, and besieging in their convents the monks of the Wadi'n-Natrûn. 'The church of the martyr St. Menas at Maryût', we learn, 'which was the delight of all the Orthodox people of Egypt became a desert. No one was able to reach it in those days in which there was the siege around Alexandria'.[36] It does not appear that the shrine itself was destroyed; but it may well be doubted if it ever recovered anything of its former importance.

A small community lingered on; and by a twist of fortune Abu Mîna, once itself the goal of one great pilgrimage, now became a halting-place on another. Through it passed the Darb el-Haj, the caravan-road that brought Muslim pilgrims from Tripoli and the West on their long journey to Mecca. One of these pilgrims, el-Bekri, an Arab from Cordova, writing towards the end of the eleventh century, has left us a description of his journey. The second stage westward from Cairo brought him to El-Muna (or El-Mena), a ruined city on the western fringe of the Delta, and the stage before Abu Mîna itself.[37]

> 'The next stage after Terremont is El-Mena, a district which includes three deserted towns with their buildings still standing. Several fine castles can be seen out in the sandy desert where the caravans run the risk of attack by nomad arabs. These castles, which are very strongly built and have remarkably high walls, are almost all raised on brick vaults. El-Mena has several wells of sweet water, but the supply is limited.
>
> The next stage after El-Mena is Abu Mîna, a great church containing very strange images and statues. Lamps burn there day and night and are never extinguished. Below the building can be seen a great dome and within it the image of a man standing upright, either foot upon a camel, with one hand open and the other closed. The group is carved in marble, and is said to represent St. Menas. In the same church can be seen also figures of all the prophets (God's blessing be with them). That of Zacharias is beside that of John. The figure of Jesus stands on a great marble column, on the right as you enter, guarded by a locked door. A double curtain hangs in the front of the figure of Mary.
>
> Outside the church are images of all kinds of beasts and of craftsmen. The figure of a slave-merchant stands surrounded by the objects of his trade, and in his hand a purse with a hole in the bottom. This symbolises the impossibility of a slave-merchant making a fortune. In the middle of the church there is a domed tabernacle containing images which purport to be angels. In one part of the church can be seen a mosque, perfectly oriented, where the muslims pray. The surroundings

[35] *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, ed. Yassâ'Aba al-Masîh and O. H. E. Burmester, vol. II, part I, Cairo 1943, p. 3.

[36] *Op. cit.* p. 56 ff. and p. 59 ff.

[37] The two places, El-Muna (or El-Mena) and Abu Mîna, are clearly distinguished, although the similarity of names has at times led to some confusion. For the identification of El-Muna, see A. de Cosson, *B.S.R.A. Alex.*, No. 30, 1936, pp. 247–53.

of the church are full of fruit-trees, especially smooth-barked almond-trees and carob-trees, the fruit of which while still green tastes like honey and is used for making syrups. There are also many vines which provide grapes and wine to send to Cairo.'[38]

Abu Salih, writing rather more than a century later, records that the shrine still existed and that it still contained the body of the saint.[39] It was probably soon after that it was finally abandoned and the body brought to Cairo, where it seems to have been installed by the middle of the fourteenth century.[40] None of the later Arab historians mention the shrine in the desert. It passed into oblivion, leaving only heaps of sand-covered ruins and a name, Boumnah, by which it was known to the bedouin, to mark the place of what had been one of the great sanctuaries of ancient Christendom.

C. THE SURVIVING REMAINS

The city of St. Menas consists nowadays of a tangle of sand-covered mounds, rising in places thirty feet and covering an area of many acres. Kaufmann's excavations comprised not only the church itself but the whole quarter adjacent to the north; a large outlying church in the middle of a cemetery; a second, smaller chapel; a bath-building with a basilical hall; wells and cisterns; wine-vats; potteries for the manufacture of figurines, *ampullae* and other vessels; and a number of dwelling-houses. Stone from the lake-side quarries and, in places, brick were used for public buildings; while private houses were of plastered mud-brick with stone door-jambs.

Within the church itself, five main structural periods can be recognised. The first consists simply of an earth-cut catacomb. If there was at first any corresponding structure above ground, no trace of it now remains. Later there was built over the catacomb a small chapel of mud-brick. Then came a stone church, and at the same time a part of the catacomb was replaced by a stone-built crypt. The fourth phase saw the greatest expansion of the shrine. Church and crypt were rebuilt, with the addition of a baptistry to the west, and of a new, and larger, church to the east. Finally the new church was abandoned and a smaller, simpler building erected on the site of the earlier church. It can hardly be doubted that the grandiose reconstruction of the fourth phase represents the work of the Archbishop Theophilus and of his successor Timothy, under whom we know that the shrine attained its maximum development. With this fixed point, we get the following identifications:

I.	The original burial-place.	An earth-cut catacomb, pagan in origin.
II.	'An oratory like a tetrapylon', built over the grave. Mid-fourth century.	A mud-brick chapel built over the catacomb.
III.	The memorial church and crypt, built by Athanasius, and completed soon after 375.	The first stone church and crypt.

[38] After the French version of G. de Slane, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale par El Bekri* (second edition, Paris, 1913). From Abu Mîna the next day's journey led to el-Hammam. The account of conditions in the Maryût is very valuable. Settled life had ceased, although there was evidently still water enough for agriculture where other conditions permitted. What was lacking was security. Kaufmann's excavations revealed the remains of wine-presses.

[39] *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt . . . attributed to Abû Sâlih, the Armenian*, ed. Evetts and Butler, p. 103.

[40] Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. xxxi, n. 2.

IV. The great new church, 'made one with' its predecessor by Theophilus, 385–412. Finished by Timothy, 458–80.

V. The pillage of the church by Lazarus and its rebuilding by Joseph, 833–49.

The first stone church and crypt remodelled. A new, and larger, church added to the east; also a baptistry at the west end.

The church of Theophilus abandoned; and a small church rebuilt on the site of that of Athanasius.

Period I. The Early Catacomb.

Of the catacomb in which the saint's body was originally laid, less than half now remains. The rest has been destroyed by later building. The soil here is a compact, sandy gravel, and the catacomb consisted of a connected series of earth-cut chambers with radiating loculi, of a type already familiar, in varying degrees of elaboration, from the Christian catacombs at Alexandria,[41] and derived ultimately from the Ptolemaic and Roman tombs of the same region. It would have been entered either by a shaft or by steps, and there may well have been also some form of antechamber in the part now destroyed. It was lined throughout with white gypsum-plaster, and when first excavated this bore traces of simple ornament and of graffiti. From the more northerly of the two chambers which lie to the east of the Period IV crypt (Pl. VI, 2), Kaufmann mentions 'the Constantinian monogram' (not more precisely specified) and a graffito which records a certain Father Joseph. The second chamber contained the body of a Father Paul.[42] In the western range Kaufmann observed further examples of the Constantinian monogram, and a cross with the letters IC XC above the horizontal stroke. The latter may almost certainly be completed as $\overline{\text{IC}}\ \overline{\text{XC}}$ NIKA, inscribed within the four quadrants of the cross, a formula which is recorded not only from the Karmoüz catacomb at Alexandria,[43] but also on an inscribed boss now in the Greco-Roman Museum at Alexandria, from Bahig, a village in Maryût due north of Abu Mîna.

Kaufmann states further that several of the graves, though rifled, showed signs of re-use, and that some had originally served for pagan burials. It is evident, however, from the products of the potters' workshops of the fifth and sixth centuries at Abu Mîna that the cult of St. Menas long retained a decidedly pagan flavour. At Ehnasiya, too, Petrie noted the survival of large numbers of pagan terra-cotta figurines well on into the fifth century. It would be very rash therefore on the available evidence to argue, as more than one writer has done,[44] that the cult of St. Menas grew out of that of a pre-existing pagan shrine. All we can say for certain is that here, as elsewhere, older beliefs died hard and were only gradually absorbed; and that here at the end of the third century was the cemetery of the little village of Este. It was in such a humble grave that the body of St. Menas was first laid.

Period II. The Primitive Oratory.

Whether any structure above ground marked the primitive catacomb we cannot now say. If it did, all trace has since been swept away; and the account in the Encomium is

[41] See Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. *Alexandrie*.

[42] Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, p. 66. The inscription of Father Paul contains the formula ΧΜΓ, for which see G. Lefebvre, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Egypte*, Cairo, 1907, p. xxxii and No. 32. It is common on papyri and ostraka of the fifth and sixth centuries. At Alexandria it occurs on dated inscriptions of A.D. 537 and 570.

[43] Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, fig. 284.

[44] R. Miedema, *De Heilige Menas*, Rotterdam 1913, chapter V; Meta E. Williams 'Whence came St. George?', *B.S.R.A. Alex.*, No. 30, 1936, pp. 79–109. The only specifically pagan objects quoted by Kaufmann are a terra-cotta figurine of Bes from the catacomb, and a small stele of Horus-Harpocrates (*Menasstadt*, fig. 24).

here too tinged with later colour to carry much weight. The first building of which we have any certain remains is the 'oratory like a tetrapylon', which was erected after the rediscovery of the body and of its miraculous healing powers. Little of this has survived;

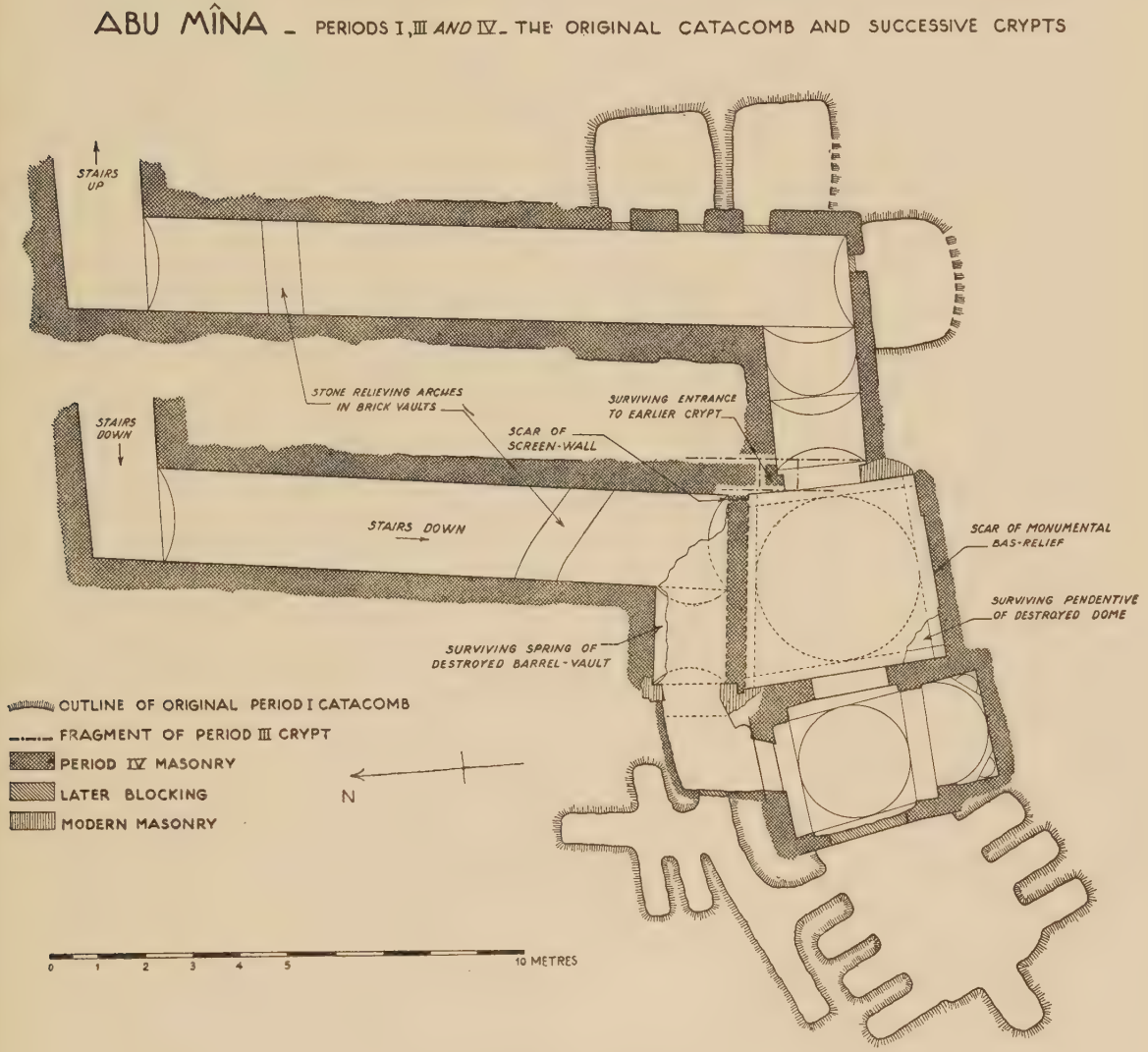

ABU MÎNA – PERIODS I, III AND IV – THE ORIGINAL CATACOMB AND SUCCESSIVE CRYPTS
STAIRS UP
STONE RELIEVING ARCHES IN BRICK VAULTS
SURVIVING ENTRANCE TO EARLIER CRYPT
STAIRS DOWN
SCAR OF SCREEN-WALL
STAIRS DOWN
SCAR OF MONUMENTAL BAS-RELIEF
SURVIVING PENDENTIVE OF DESTROYED DOME
SURVIVING SPRING OF DESTROYED BARREL-VAULT
OUTLINE OF ORIGINAL PERIOD I CATACOMB
FRAGMENT OF PERIOD III CRYPT
PERIOD IV MASONRY
LATER BLOCKING
MODERN MASONRY
N
0 1 2 3 4 5 10 METRES

FIG. 1.—SUCCESSIVE TOMB-STRUCTURES BENEATH THE CHURCH

but fortunately that little is both distinctive in character and clearly dated in relation to the buildings which succeeded it.

Immediately to the east of the footing, which in Period IV carried the western arcade of the narthex of the Arcadian basilica, are two small apsidal plinths. These are constructed of mud-brick, roughly strengthened with limestone chippings. The upper and

outer faces are finished in smooth gypsum-plaster, with a bevel at the junction, while the inner face is rough and can never have stood free. At either end they are interrupted by walls of Periods III and IV, while the trample of builders' rubbish associated with the construction of the southern apse is cut by the foundation-trench of one of the transverse walls of the Period III sanctuary (Fig. 2).

Of the structure which stood upon these plinths nothing remains; nor is any other part of this building now visible, although it is very possible that some portion of it may survive beneath the later floor, to the west of the semi-circular *confessio* (if such it be) which marks the position of the tomb-chamber at the east end of the Period III nave. It is a reasonable presumption that the two apses flanked a third, central apse, and this would naturally suggest a chapel of simple basilical form. Unfortunately the nearest local analogy, the mud-brick chapel at Kurum et-tuwâl[45] is incomplete. It has three aisles, but the east end is missing. It is, moreover, undated.

A possible alternative is suggested by the description in the Encomium, 'a small oratory, like a tetrapylon'. This phrase would well describe the type of four-square domed tomb, sometimes open in the form of a four-way arch, sometimes enclosing a chamber, which was early current in Syria[46] and in Egypt and was to become such a common feature in the Islamic world. In the remarkable cemetery of El-Bagawât in the Kharga oasis the commonest form of well-to-do tomb chapel is a square structure of mud-brick with four shallow, arched recesses within, and a well-developed spherical vault with pendentives reaching down into the spandrels of the arches beneath.[47] There is only one door, but false arcading in stucco is used externally to give an architectural effect. Several of the buildings have in addition a single projecting apse on the side facing the entrance, although none has more than one. The cemetery was excavated many years ago by the Metropolitan Museum of New York. No final report was ever published, but in a brief interim report the excavators assigned it in general terms to the fifth century,[48] although it no doubt embraced in all a considerably longer period.

The literary evidence and general probability alike incline to suggest that it was in fact a building of this sort which first marked the site of the saint's grave and housed the lamp that burned night and day in his honour. The actual remains would more naturally be taken to belong to a small basilical structure. There can be no certainty without the excavation of the undisturbed area immediately to the west of the *confessio*.[49]

[45] R. Eilmann, A. Langsdorf, and K. E. Stier, 'Bericht über die Voruntersuchungen auf den Kurum-el-tuwâl bei Amrije', *Mitteilungen des deutschen Instituts für Aegyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*, Vol. I, 1930, pp. 106–29.

[46] E.g. the well-known tomb at Brad, Northern Syria, H. C. Butler, *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, 1920, pp. 299–300, ill. 329. See also S. Guyer 'Zwei spätantike Grabmonumente Nordmesopotamiens und der älteste Martyrgrabtypus der Christlichen Kunst', *Fünf Jahrtausend Morgenländischer Kultur: Festschrift Max Freiherrn von Oppenheim*, Berlin, 1933, pp. 148–56.

[47] W. de Bock, *Matériaux pour servir à l'archéologie de l'Egypte chrétien*, St. Petersburg, 1901. The cemetery lies 5 km. north of el-Khargeh. De Bock's description is worth quoting: 'La plupart des tombeaux sont carrés à une porte, et ont une coupole. Des deux côtés de la porte, à l'intérieur, deux pilastres dont un est toujours plus grand que l'autre, se détachent à angle droit du mur antérieur. Les coupoles reposent sur des arcs de soutènement adossés aux quatre murs, et leur hauteur dépend de la hauteur de ces arcs qui sont tantôt soubaissés, tantôt plein-cintre, ou même en ogive. Les coins entre les arcs sont remplis par les pendentifs des coupoles'.

[48] *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Arts, New York*, III, 1908, pp. 203–8.

[49] It has not seemed necessary to rebut in detail Kaufmann's many strange theories. It is perhaps well, however, to point out that the alleged existence of an octagonal Constantinian building is based upon nothing more than two of the column-bases of the Period IV columnar exedra above the *confessio* (see pp. 48–9).

Period III. The Church of Saint Athanasius (completed soon after 375).

(a) *The Tomb.* At the same time as Athanasius built a 'spacious memorial church' in honour of St. Menas, he also converted a part of the early catacomb into a crypt, within which, in the presence of the assembled bishops, the saint's body was solemnly laid. This crypt was largely destroyed some thirty years later when, in Period IV, church and tomb alike were rebuilt. The east wall, however, of the later tomb-chamber incorporates a fragment of earlier masonry, including the greater part of an arch, which has been blocked by the brick vaulting of the later corridor (see Pls. V and VI, 1). This arch opened on to a barrel-vaulted passage, lined with plaster, which sloped upwards towards the east; and from its central position on the axis of the overlying church, it was probably the entrance to the actual tomb-chamber. The floor of the tomb was then some three or four feet above that of Period IV, and approximately on a level with that of the earlier catacomb.

The rest of the Period III tomb-chamber has vanished. To this period, however, probably belongs also the low-pitched foundation arch,[50] which marks the western boundary of the present semi-circular *confessio*. It is clearly designed to give stability to some heavy structure at the point where it crosses the underlying catacomb; but it seems an unnecessarily elaborate device if it were in fact contemporary with the Period IV walls which lie directly beneath it. These would appear rather to be a later insertion; and it was by their construction that the primitive catacomb was finally sealed. In Period III on the other hand the catacomb was apparently still accessible, to judge from the number of graffiti which Kaufmann found, some of which name the writer as 'Abba' and must belong to a time when there was an organised community at hand. One of these refers probably to the Emperors Valens and Valentinian and can be dated therefore between the years 364 and 375.[51]

One further feature can be assigned to this period. Within the extreme north-eastern corner of the ninth-century church lies part of a shaft, a metre square and nearly two metres in depth. The northern face of this shaft consists of one of the transverse foundations of the sanctuary of the Period III church, which it can therefore hardly antedate. On the other hand to the east it has been cut short by a foundation of Period IV. Except on this later eastern face it is lined with gypsum plaster, and to the west it opens, down a low step, on to a similarly surfaced, barrel-vaulted corridor. The corridor is cut short and blocked by the masonry of the eastern corridor of the Period IV crypt. Together shaft and corridor constitute a familiar type of tomb-entrance, of which at least one example has already been recorded from the Maryût, at Kurûm et-tuwâl, to the south of Amrîyah.[52] But neither in character nor in its relation to the church does it suggest the formal entrance to the tomb of the saint, which probably lay on the axis of the church. It was perhaps the entrance to what remained of the early catacomb, which, as we have seen, was only finally sealed by the architects of the following period.

(b) *The Church.* Over the crypt Athanasius built a 'spacious memorial church'. Less than half a century later his successor Theophilus rebuilt it almost in its entirety

[50] Visible in Plate VIII, 4, extreme left. The original masonry is now much obscured by the restoration, undertaken by Breccia in 1926–7.

[51] Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, p. 65.

[52] R. Eilmann, A. Langsdorf, and K. E. Stier, *op. cit.* pp. 106–29.

and to-day the foundations only of the earlier building remain. While there can be little doubt that excavation would recover the entire plan, at present much of it must necessarily remain conjectural.

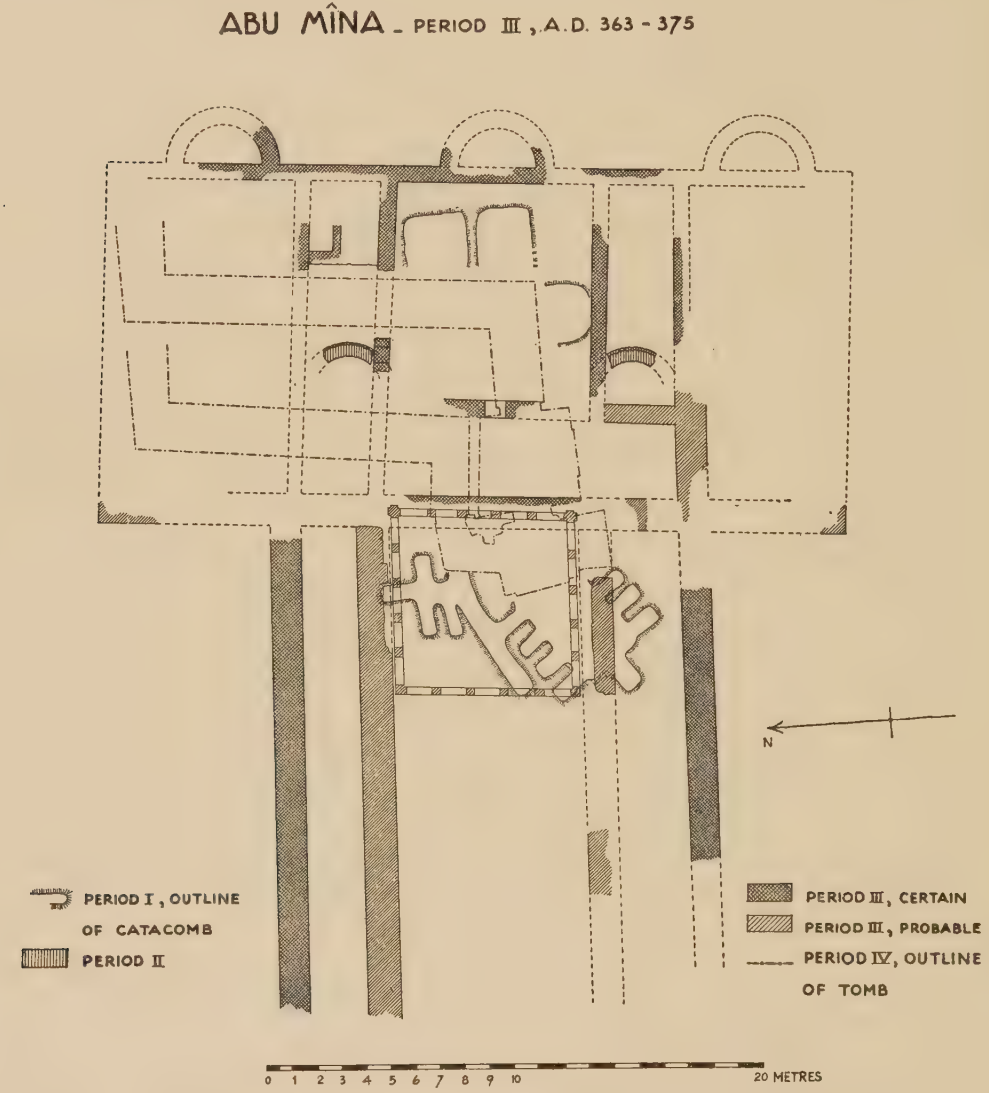

ABU MÎNA - PERIOD III, A.D. 363 - 375
N
PERIOD I, OUTLINE OF CATACOMB
PERIOD II
PERIOD III, CERTAIN
PERIOD III, PROBABLE
PERIOD IV, OUTLINE OF TOMB
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
20 METRES

Fig. 2.—The Church of St. Athanasius, and Remains of Earlier Structures

Like its successor, it seems to have been built on a T-shaped plan, though on a smaller scale and with less markedly projecting transepts (Fig. 2). To the east extended semi-circular apses, probably three in number. These were destroyed, foundations and all, for the masonry they contained by the builders of Period IV, who left only the stumps of the central apse to carry the broader footings of the western entrance to the

new church, and that part of the northern apse which could be incorporated into the continuous footing of the northern arcade. Of a southern apse no trace is visible, although the scar of its northern abutment on the main eastern foundation might have been expected in the area exposed. It is most unlikely, however, that the church would in fact have been asymmetrical in this important respect.

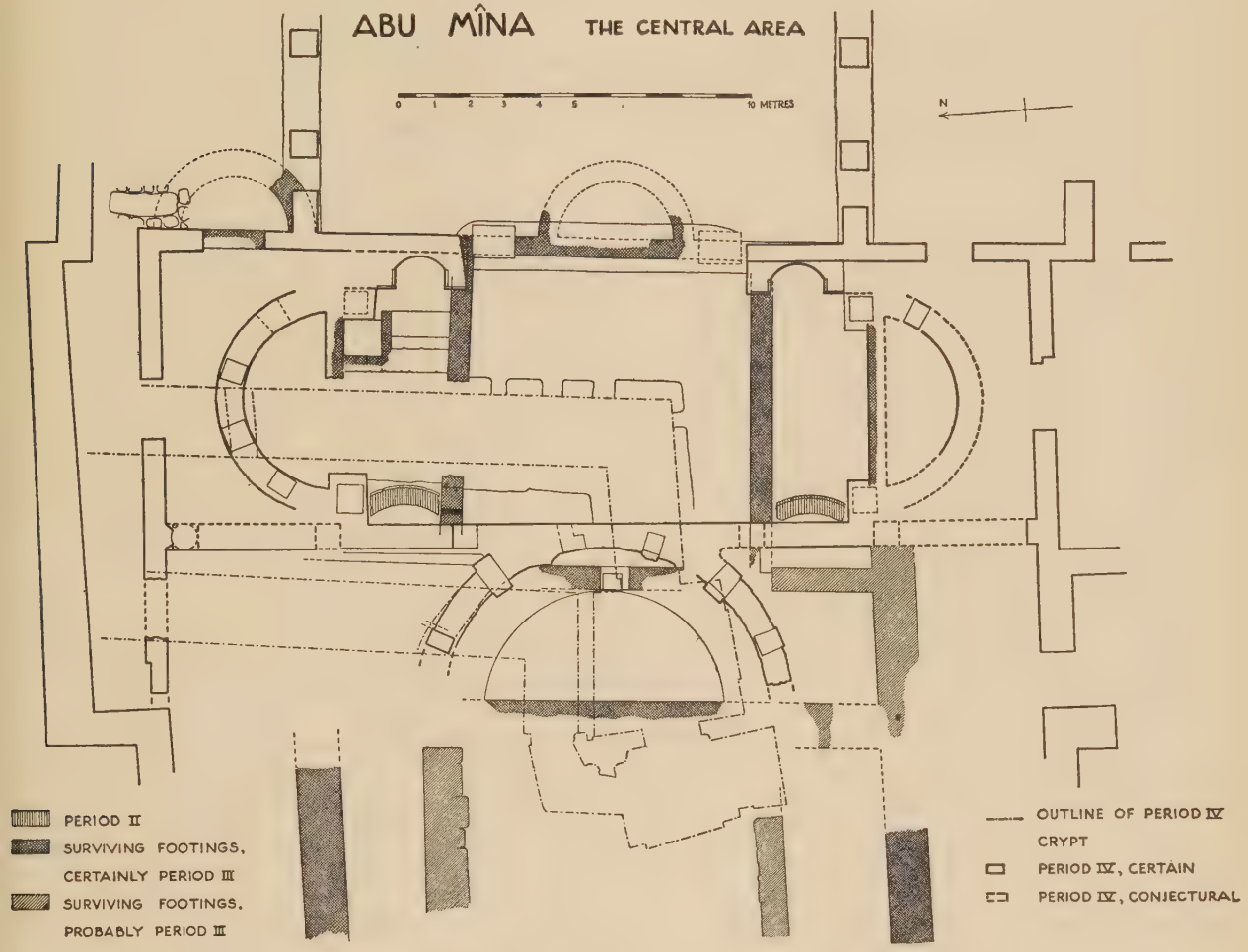

ABU MÎNA THE CENTRAL AREA
0 1 2 3 4 5 10 METRES
N
PERIOD II
SURVIVING FOOTINGS, CERTAINLY PERIOD III
SURVIVING FOOTINGS, PROBABLY PERIOD III
OUTLINE OF PERIOD IV CRYPT
PERIOD IV, CERTAIN
PERIOD IV, CONJECTURAL

FIG. 3.—STRUCTURES IN THE CENTRAL AREA ABOVE THE TOMB (SHOWN IN DOTTED OUTLINE). NINTH-CENTURY ADDITIONS ARE OMITTED

The lateral and westward extent of the transepts cannot be determined beyond question without excavation; but they can be deduced with some degree of probability from a consideration of the work of the Period IV builders. It has already been noted that the shallow, arched foundation, which bounds to the west the present semi-circular shaft beneath the *confessio*, appears to be of an earlier date than the Period IV walls which underlie it (see p. 41). This foundation can be seen to extend southwards,

though it has been much interrupted by later work. Northwards it awaits examination. In both directions it is aligned on the projecting shoulders which at this point interrupt the outer walls of the Period IV building. These shoulders serve no very clear purpose in the Arcadian structure, which elsewhere follows a remarkably coherent and consistent plan, and it is reasonable to suppose that they are, in fact, the western angles of the Athanasian transept, which have been incorporated into the later design.

A singular feature of the plan of the eastern part of this church is the number of foundations, four in all, which divide it internally from east to west. While the outer pair probably delimit side-chapels, the inner pair are perhaps to be associated rather with the crypt and its entrance. Unfortunately both are masked at their western end by the overlying masonry of two succeeding periods. The depth of all the foundations in the eastern half of the church (in places 2 metres) is sufficiently explained by the existence of the catacomb beneath; and the same consideration must be held responsible for the considerable irregularity of the plan in its detailed lay-out.

Of the nave of Athanasius' church it is hard to speak with any certainty. The problem can be simply stated. On the site of the nave there exist three pairs of foundations running from east to west.[53] Of these the outermost pair belong, at least from ground-level upwards, to Period IV. In Period V the intermediate pair carried the outer walls of the nave, while the inner pair formed the continuous footing of the nave-arcade. The intermediate pair at any rate belong originally to Period III; for on the south side they can be shown to be contemporary with the presumed west wall of the transept. What is not certain is whether at this time this intermediate pair carried the outer walls of the nave or the columns of the nave-arcade. The plan (Fig. 2) illustrates conjecturally the former alternative, the proportions of which are, on the whole, the more convincing. Excavation would no doubt decide the matter.

A further possible line of enquiry is suggested by the existence towards the west end of the church of a cistern, in the form of a passage 80 metres long, which crosses the line of the nave from north to south and to which a well-shaft gave access immediately within the central western door. At three unspecified points within this cistern Kaufmann noted the existence of foundations, designed to support the footings of the church above. Two of these he states that he partially destroyed; but there can be little doubt that a re-examination of this cistern (which was not practicable to the writer) would yield evidence as to the relative dates of the overlying structures.

Period IV. The church of Theophilus, consecrated c. *400–10.*

(a) *The Tomb.* The Encomium speaks only of the 'wondrous memorial church' which the Patriarch Theophilus added to Athanasius' church. It is clear, however, from a study of the actual buildings that at the same time he rebuilt and enlarged the crypt to meet the needs of the pilgrimage, and that in their present form the substructures are almost entirely his work. They consist of a lofty, barrel-vaulted staircase (Pl. V) leading down from the north side of the previous church to a central tomb-chamber on the site of the earlier tomb; to the west of the tomb-chamber is a small, square, domed chapel, with

[53] In addition there are possible traces of a range of column-bases immediately within the line of the intermediate pair of footings. One of these appears to be still *in situ* on the north side, and Kaufmann indicates, without comment, a second on his plan (*Menasstadt*, fig. 22). On the south side can be seen the matrix from which a similar base may have been removed.

an antechamber at its northern end, while from the opposite side of the tomb-chamber a barrel-vaulted corridor leads to the east, then turns north parallel with the entrance-staircase, and finally east again, up a second flight of stairs, into the north-west corner of the new church. The walls throughout are of good ashlar masonry covered with a thick coating of coarse stucco, which served as a basis for a revetment of marble slabs. The vaulting is carried out in kiln-baked brick, widely jointed in a hard mortar and covered originally with stucco or mosaic ornament.[54] Kaufmann records a stucco pattern of rectangular coffers with central rosettes on the barrel-vault of the staircase; while a fragment of the figured gold mosaic from the domed chapel is preserved in the Greco-Roman Museum at Alexandria.[55] No doubt the tomb-chamber itself carried a similar mosaic decoration.

The building technique throughout is uniform, and the whole crypt was evidently planned as a unit. Its relation to the buildings above ground is, moreover, certain; for incorporated into the barrel-vaulting at two points, and integral to it, are two stone relieving-arches. These carried the footings of the central and northern semicircular exedrae, respectively, of the narthex (see pp. 48–9), both of which certainly belonged to the Period IV structure.

When the shrine was finally deserted the crypt was ransacked; and subsequently, as the church above fell into ruin, quantities of masonry and rubble collapsed into the vaults beneath. It is, however, still possible to obtain a fairly complete picture of the tomb as it was in the fifth century. The chapel to the west of the tomb-chamber is structurally all but intact, although the centre of the dome had fallen and has since been restored. The dome, which is of brick, is supported on spherical triangular pendentives, based on four irregular but roughly rectangular corner-pilasters, which in turn carry the arches of four shallow recesses (Pl. VI, 3). The curvature of the dome is distinct from that of the pendentives.[56] The southernmost of the recesses opens on to a small annexe with a brick half-dome carried on squinches (Pl. VI, 4).[57] This chapel is in many respects the counterpart, below ground, of the square tomb-chapels of the El-Bagawât cemetery (see p. 40). A deep shaft sunk in the floor of the annexe and a hole leading into the early catacomb are the work of later robbers. The irregularity of the masonry was concealed by figured mosaics on a gold ground, which probably covered the whole surface of the vault and possibly of the walls also.

The tomb-chamber itself has fared worse, and the surviving remains have been further obscured by the necessary work of restoration, undertaken some fifteen years ago. The whole of the northern half of the west wall and much of the southern part of the east wall are of modern masonry. It was originally divided into two unequal portions, of which the southern, and larger, part constituted the actual tomb-chamber, while at the northern end was a corridor by which the pilgrim was led from the foot of the staircase

[54] The peculiar structure of the vault is clearly visible in Plate V. The lower courses are laid flat and corbelled outwards, while the crown of the vault consists of bricks laid on edge. This method avoids the use of timber centering. Professor Monneret de Villard has pointed out to the the writer that the technique is exactly paralleled in the aqueduct of Basatîn at Cairo, built by Ibn Tulûn; K. A. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, vol. II, Oxford, 1940, p. 330, pl. 95b. But the date of the vaults of the Period IV crypt can hardly be questioned, and the similarity of technique must be taken as an instance of the long life of a local tradition of brickwork.

[55] Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, fig. 16. From the character of the masonry it is certain that this mosaic surface was envisaged at the moment of construction.

[56] See K. A. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, I, p. 319 and fig. 394, illustrating the vault after restoration. The latter should be compared with Pl. VI, 3, after Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, pl. 8. Creswell (p. 319) is mistaken in saying that dome and pendentives are of the same curvature.

[57] Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, pl. 9. 6 and 8.

through the antechamber and into the domed chapel, before passing into the actual tomb. The stump of the narrow partition-wall which separated the corridor from the tomb-chamber can be seen high up in the eastern wall (Pl. VI, 1); also the spring of the vault over the tomb-chamber, while the northern face shows traces of a barrel-vault, similar to that of the staircase, but at right angles to it and at a lower level (visible in Pl. VIII, 4). The semicircular shaft down to the tomb-chamber, so marked a feature of the surviving remains, had no visible counterpart in antiquity. It was a concealed structural feature, designed to ensure the stability of the exedra and of the *confessio* above, and has only since been revealed by the collapse of the underlying vaults.

The tomb itself was originally vaulted, possibly with a brick dome similar to that of the adjacent chapel, but more probably, in view of the limited height available, with a spherical vault. This would have been the 'great dome below the building', which El Bekri saw (p. 36). A fragment only remains, in the south-western corner; but the character of this fragment is distinctive, for it includes portions of the archivolts spanning two of the recesses and of the pendentive between them.[58] It is possible that in this case the brick corner-pilasters, of which there is no trace, were replaced by marble colonettes. In the centre of the southern wall of the tomb-chamber is the matrix of a large slab, 1·80 metres in breadth and recessed 2 centimetres more deeply than the surrounding marble revetment.[59] Here without doubt was the great image of St. Menas, standing with hands upraised in prayer between two camels. Thus he is depicted on the small marble relief, very possibly a copy of that in the parent shrine, from the associated monastery of St. Thekla at Ennaton, near Alexandria (Pl. VIII, 1).[60] Thus, too, on an early fresco from the chapel of Karm Abu Girg in the Eastern Maryût (Pl. VIII, 2),[61] on the ivories of Alexandria,[62] and universally on the ampullae. It is true that El Bekri, a most intelligent observer, described it as the statue of a man standing upon, and not between, two camels; but in the face of the consensus of ancient representations, it is hardly likely that the archetype should have so differed from all its copies.

It is probably no accident that the staircase leading down to the tomb is so aligned, askew to the axes both of the tomb and of the church, as to have given the descending pilgrim free vision of the site of the image from the moment that he reached the head of the stairs. Kaufmann records the discovery of quantities of charred wood in the tomb-chamber, and the partition-wall between the tomb-chamber and the entrance-corridor to the north may well have consisted in part of an open-work wooden screen.

Of the other internal fittings of the tomb it is impossible to speak with any certainty. The only light, other than that from the entrance staircase and from the sacred lamps to which the texts refer, came from a small shaft leading down from the back of the exedra above to the centre of the east wall of the tomb-chamber. The tomb itself has vanished with the image, but from the presence of the exedra above, it is reasonable to conjecture that it stood free near the screen wall, opposite the image and axially to the

[58] For the surviving angle of the vault see Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, pl. 9. 1.

[59] Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, pl. 5.

[60] Now in the museum at Alexandria. See *B.S.R.A. Alex.*, No. 9, 1907, pp. 3–12.

[61] Ev. Breccia in *Muncipalité d'Alexandrie: rapport sur la marche du service du musée*, 1912; see also De Cosson, *Mareotis* pp. 147–9. The frescoes, which are now in the Museum at Alexandria, decorated a mud-brick building, which was later rebuilt in stone. They reveal certain analogies with the frescoes at Bawît.

[62] An ivory pyxis in the British Museum, *B.M. Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era*, p. 11, pl. vii; a panel from the Bishop's throne at Grado, now in Milan Museum, Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, vol. I, 1114, fig. 270.

church above. Add the marble floor and the walls and the gilded mosaics of the vault, and it is not difficult to imagine the chamber which, for nearly nine centuries until the final destruction of the shrine, held the relics of St. Menas.

(b) *The Church.* The church itself was completely excavated and described by Kaufmann, and the plan which he published has since passed into the standard works of reference. Though devised on opulent lines it presents few complexities, and Kaufmann's account is here least unsatisfactory. The ground-plan is that of a T, with a single, projecting apse. The nave is of normal three-aisled basilical form. The transepts, also of three-aisled basilical form, have in addition a rudimentary terminal aisle, which gives the effect of an ambulatory. The terminal aisle is a common feature of Coptic churches elsewhere,[63] as also is the use of decorative apsidal recesses (at Abu Mîna characteristic of Period IV), one of which can be seen at the end of each transept. Nave and transepts alike were composed of a double order, with *matronea* over the lateral aisles.[64] On the north side of the nave a door leads into the adjacent domestic quarters, and on the south a triple doorway, flanked by columns on octagonal bases (Pl. VII, 2), constitutes the main entrance from the southern courtyard and from the street beyond.

The masonry throughout is somewhat roughly coursed, and is less fine than that of the Athanasian church. Characteristic also of all the Period IV work is the use of a brick bonding-course, made up of kiln-baked bricks measuring 25 by 12 by 6 centimetres. The rather summary character of the masonry is readily explained by the elaborate decorative veneer with which it was covered. As in the crypt, the walls were faced with panels of marble set in a thick bed of coarse stucco, often mixed with potsherds, and the floor was paved in part at least with large square slabs of the same material. Both were removed in the ninth century, and only a few broken fragments now remain. These are all of a fine-grained island marble, white banded with irregular grey streaks; but the Encomium speaks also of coloured marbles and of the 'unequalled pavement, which was composed of all colours'; and elsewhere two of the decorative niches of Period IV still retain traces of polychrome marble panelling.[65] The columns of the two orders of the nave and transepts were removed at the same time as the pavement, but it would appear that these were throughout of the same white, island marble.

The roof was undoubtedly of timber. The span of the nave (14·8 metres) was considerable. The roofing of the junction of nave and transept must have presented a considerable problem, for the corner-columns are uniform with the rest of the arcade and no provision is made to carry any extra weight. Kaufmann records that at this point he found considerable traces of fallen gold mosaic. The position of the high altar, in the centre of the crossing and at the focal point of the whole architectural plan, is marked by the four bases of the canopy that sheltered it. Around it, occupying almost the whole area within the four angle-columns of the crossing and extending a short distance towards the apse, ran a rectangular chancel screen. At the back of this chancel, with its back to the apse and facing the altar, stood a raised dais, gently curved and stepped on

[63] See below, section D, p. 55.

[64] The elements of the double order are summarily illustrated by Kaufmann (*Menasstadt*, p. 89, fig. 39), who removed the best of the surviving architectural detail to Frankfurt. Professor Monneret de Villard, who has inspected this material, questions the use of a flat architrave, of which there is now no trace. But perhaps the iniquitous Lazarus did his work too well. For the column-bases, see Pl. VII, 1, and p. 63.

[65] In the narthex, retained by the Period V builders (Pl. III, 1, and Fig. 4). Traces of coloured marble revetment were also found in the baptistry.

the western face. It was presumably a bench for the officiating clergy, and may in very general terms be compared with the free-standing internal apse of the Pre-Eufrasian basilica at Parenzo;[66] but no close parallel is forthcoming. Behind the dais, and outside the chancel, the octagonal bases of an open, colonnaded screen follow the same gentle curve to demarcate the main apse. Two tombs, the remains of which it overrides, belong to an earlier phase of the site's history.[67] From the centre of the western side of the chancel a narrow passage extended down the axis of the nave. It led undoubtedly to the ambon, the seatings of which would perhaps be revealed by careful excavation.

The narthex occupied the site of the east end of the Athanasian church and was itself superseded in the ninth century by the sanctuary of the Period V church. It consisted, in effect, of a portico linking the old and the new buildings. The western side was colonnaded and opened directly on to the nave of the Athanasian church, while on the east a great central door, flanked by ornamental recesses, formed the main west door of the Theophilan church, with two smaller doors opening into the side-aisles. The northern and southern ends of the rectangular space so enclosed were shut off by two apsidal, arcaded screens; and a third screen, of the same form but slightly larger, stood in front of the western arcade immediately over the tomb-chamber of the saint. The character of these screens is hardly in doubt, for at Deyr el-Abiad, Sohag, a similar screen blocks one end of the narthex. The latter example carries a brick half-dome, and may be considered as an elaboration of the shell-headed, apsidal recesses of the narthex at Dendera.[68] There can be little doubt that at Abu Mîna, too, these screens were half-domed in brick over a marble cornice, in conformity with the surviving Period IV brickwork in the crypt and in the baptistry; and that above them a facing of brick was carried up to roof-height. It has already been noted that at the two points where the foundations of the narthex run across the lines of the underlying crypt, the brick vaulting of the latter is strengthened by the addition of stone relieving-arches, proving beyond doubt that the two structures above and below ground are contemporary.

To the west of the narthex lay the nave of the Athanasian church. Without excavation, and without a further knowledge of the plan of the earlier building, it is not possible to say how far the work of Theophilus conformed with, and incorporated, existing structures, and how far it involved the complete rebuilding of the Athanasian nave. The text of the Encomium certainly suggests that a substantial part of the earlier church remained 'to be made one with' the new building. On the other hand it is quite clear that in their present form the existing outer walls of the nave are of Period IV workmanship, with a brick bonding-course and ornamental recesses (Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, pl. 10). This would seem to imply a more radical reconstruction, and the plan is certainly suggestive of a conventional atrium–narthex lay-out. Where so much is uncertain, however, analogy is a dangerous argument; and pending excavation it is perhaps wiser to leave the matter open.

To this period certainly belongs the semicircular screen which marks the site of the

[66] B. Molajoli, *La Basilica Eufrasiana di Parenzo*, Padova, 1943, pp. 17–28; P. Verzone, *L'architettura religiosa dell'alto medioevo nell'Italia settentrionale*, Milan, 1942, p. 49. *Cf.* also S. Croce, Ravenna, Verzone, *op. cit.* pp. 9–10.

[67] Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, pl. 59. These tombs have nothing to do with the Period IV structure, as Kaufmann suggests, but precede it.

[68] U. Monneret de Villard, *Les Couvents près de Sohag*, Milan, 1925, vol. I, fig. 52 (plan). *Atti IV Congr. Arch. Crist.* p. 303, fig. 9.

confessio [69] and of the tomb beneath; perhaps also the remains of a square screen of marble posts and slabs, doubtless the enclosure for an altar, in the centre of the nave immediately to the west of the semicircular screen. Superficially it could belong equally well to Period V, but both in character and in position it belongs far more naturally to the fifth century than to the ninth. It may alternatively be a relic of the Athanasian church. Here again excavation would doubtless decide.

At the extreme west end of the whole complex stood the baptistry. The brick bonding-courses, the use of ornamental recesses, and the technique of the brick vaulting, all betray the work of the Period IV architects; while on the north side it can be shown to be of one build with the Period IV outer wall of what had been the Athanasian nave. It was considerably modified at a later date, but the later work is structurally clearly distinguishable, and nowhere are the main lines of the earlier building in doubt. It consisted of a central baptistry chamber, flanked on the south by an antechamber with a single row of columns running down the centre,[70] on the west by a passage, and on the north by a chamber of uncertain character, since much modified. The baptistry itself is octagonal internally and was covered by a brick dome, of which substantial parts were found by the excavators, fallen intact.[71] The crown of the dome was marked by a cross worked into the pattern of the brickwork, a *jeu d'esprit* which can never have been visible in the completed work. The alternate faces of the internal octagon contained recessed niches, and there were similar but smaller external niches facing on to the passage on the west side.[72] In the centre, beneath a canopy, was a sunken circular basin, entered from the east and from the west by flights of steps [73] and identical in design with the basin in the baptistry of the cemetery-church.[74] Internally, the baptistry-chamber was elaborately ornamented with gold mosaic on the dome and with white and coloured marble on the walls and floor. Here, too, were found portions of three small capitals, with eagles displayed at each corner flanking a chalice; and of three low-relief pilaster-capitals with simple foliate ornament.[75]

Period V. Patriarch Joseph's Church A.D. *833–49.*

After Lazarus' workmen had done their work and stripped the sanctuary of its columns, its pavements, and the marble from its walls, the Patriarch Joseph was faced with a destruction so complete that there could be no question of rebuilding the great Period IV church of Theophilus. True, the Encomium speaks as if this were done; but the surviving remains show that in fact it was abandoned, and that he had to be content with a far more humble structure, on the site of, and following the same general lines as, the Period III church of Athanasius, but slightly reduced in scale. This is in the main the building which Kaufmann identified and published as the 'Grave-Church' (*Gruftkirche*) of Athanasius. The most superficial examination proves, however, that while this 'Grave-Church' incorporates some earlier structures, particularly of Period IV,

[69] If indeed it be a *confessio* proper. The present semi-circular shaft is a structural feature only, and was invisible when the tomb-chamber below was vaulted. There are, however, traces of a small shaft leading down into the tomb-chamber from the base of the columnar exedra above. For the significance of the semi-circular screen, see p. 59.

[70] Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, pl. 40.

[71] *ibid.* pl. 38.

[72] *ibid.* pl. 36.

[73] *ibid.* pl. 37.

[74] *ibid.* fig. 46.

[75] Capitals, see Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, pl. 66, nos. 2, 4, and 6; the best preserved of these is in the Greco-Roman Museum at Alexandria (Inv. No. 17445). Pilaster-capitals, see p. 64, pl. ix. 4.

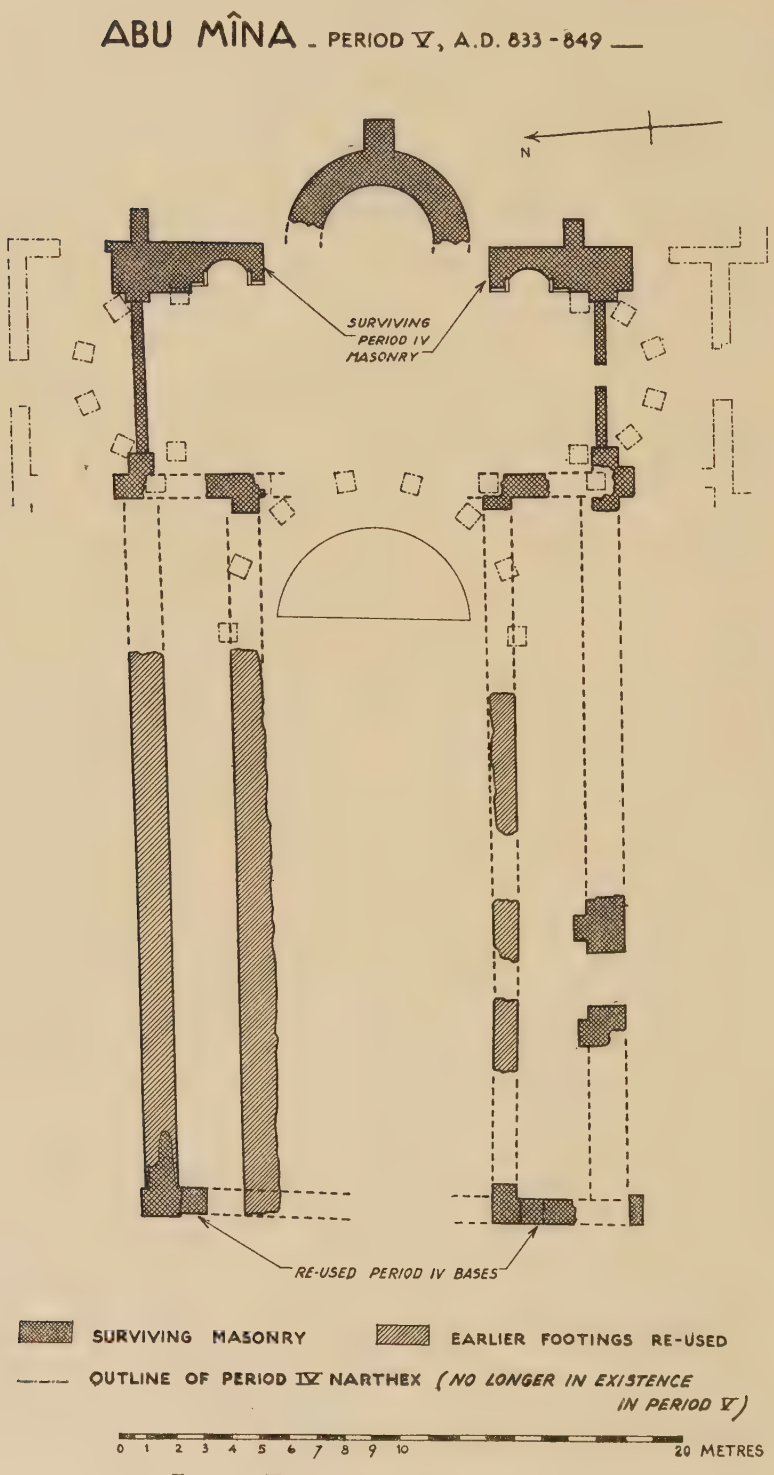

ABU MÎNA - PERIOD V, A.D. 833-849
N
SURVIVING PERIOD IV MASONRY
RE-USED PERIOD IV BASES
SURVIVING MASONRY
EARLIER FOOTINGS RE-USED
OUTLINE OF PERIOD IV NARTHEX (NO LONGER IN EXISTENCE IN PERIOD V)
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
20 METRES

FIG. 4.—THE NINTH-CENTURY CHURCH

it is in fact the latest building on the site and is, therefore, beyond any reasonable doubt, the work of the Patriarch Joseph between 833 and 849. Both the plan and the character of the building are in accordance with this identification.

This latest church is built of very mixed, and mainly bad, masonry. The north and south walls of the Sanctuary are partitions or rubble. The surviving stretches of the nave-walls are also of rubble construction, but more robust and with an uneven plastered surface. They incorporate several marble bases taken from the Period IV church (Pl. VII, 3). These bases were already in damaged condition when used by the Period V builders, a circumstance which no doubt explains why they were not taken by the rapacious Lazarus. In curious contrast to the generally poor quality of the masonry is the projecting eastern apse, a stout ashlar structure, better than anything built in Period IV and equalled only by the remains of the Period III church. The relative date of this apse is, however, beyond question. Not only does it block the great west door leading from the narthex into the central nave of the Period IV church, but its footings can be shown to be trenched into the make-up of the Period IV floor, which in turn overlies the surviving foundations of the central Period III apse.

The plan of this latest church is extremely simple. The Sanctuary consists in effect of the narthex of the Period IV church, slightly narrowed by the insertion of two partition walls, which cut right across the foundations of the two lateral exedrae. To the west the intercolumnations of the narthex-arcade were partly blocked to cut off the Sanctuary from the body of the church; while to the east a single projecting apse fills the gap where was formerly the main west door of the earlier church. By a coincidence, of which the builders were certainly unaware, the apse lies almost directly over the foundations of the central apse of the Period III Athanasian church.

A curious feature of this later apse is that it does not fill the entire gap. On either side, a narrow passage leads into the body of the old church beyond, and the wear of the threshold shows that these passages were much used. Presumably they led to the monastic quarters, which still lay to the north of the site of the Period IV church. The two decorative niches, which had flanked the main doorway in Period IV, now in effect became apsidal recesses on either side of the main apse. By every analogy the Sanctuary would have been divided longitudinally into three by screens, probably of wood, but of these no trace now remains.

Of the body of the church very little can be said. Time and the excavator have stripped it bare. On the southern side a stretch of walling with a door shows that the outer walls lay within the span of the outer Period IV walls and were built upon the intermediate pair of longitudinal foundations described above (p. 44). That the inner pair carried an arcade in Period V cannot be regarded as proved, but by analogy with contemporary Coptic Architecture it is highly probable.

D. ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES OF THE SUCCESSIVE CHURCHES

The purpose of the present article is rather the presentation of certain fresh facts regarding an important monument than the detailed discussion of the problems of comparative architectural history to which it gives rise. Nevertheless, it may prove

useful in the following section to call attention briefly to certain distinctive elements, of which account must be taken in any more detailed study.

Transepts. The Athanasian church and its successor are alike distinguished by the addition of a transept to the ordinary basilical plan. There, however, the similarity begins and ends. The transept of the Athanasian church is subdivided into a series of compartments by walls or screens running parallel to the major axis of the church. The roof-plan must have suggested an organic unity, focused at the crossing, which is not in fact reflected in the ground-plan. The Theophilan church is by comparison a thoroughly homogeneous and purposeful building, in which every accent converges upon a single point, the high altar in the centre of the crossing of nave and transepts. The distinction, which is one of considerable importance for comparative studies, is without doubt based upon a divergence of function.

The transept, whether contained within the rectangular perimeter of the main building or projecting to form a T, but in either case distinguished by a roof set at right angles to the main axis of the building, had a wide, though scattered, currency in the early church. Its origin has been the subject of a considerable literature, in which the issue has often been sadly confused by the attempt to squeeze all the surviving examples within a single mould.[76] The most recent discussion of a part of the field is a characteristically lucid article by Krautheimer, based upon his researches in the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli in Rome.[77] In this he shows that the original fabric of the present church of S. Pietro, built in the early fifth century, had a well-marked projecting transept, which was clearly divided internally into a central bay and wings. In the original scheme this division was to have been achieved by screen-walls with three openings in their upper parts and some form of arcade below. This scheme was in fact modified during construction, but the distinction between central bay and wings remained. This 'tripartite transept' is, as Krautheimer shows, certainly derived from Greece, where it is one of the common types of early church.[78] In some cases the subdivisions are marked by arcades, in others by projecting pilasters, which may or may not have carried an arch similar to that between the central compartment of the transept and the nave. In both types alike the tripartite division is further emphasised by the detailed arrangement of the internal fittings. Chancel-screens flank the central compartment to form a kind of forechoir or continuation of the apse towards the nave, whereas the wings are in effect separate rooms, set apart alike from the central bay and from the nave-aisles, with which they communicate only through well-marked doors, often with secondary screens. There can be no doubt that this distinctive form was evolved in response to the requirements of a developing church ritual; or that in function it broadly corresponds to the pastophories which flank the chancel in Syrian and North African early church architecture.

[76] This literature is well surveyed by J. P. Kirsch, 'Il transetto nella basilica cristiana antica', *Scritti in onore di Bartolommeo Nogara*, Rome, 1937, p. 205 ff.

[77] R. Krautheimer, 'S. Pietro in Vincoli and the tripartite transept in the Early Christian Basilica', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* LXXXIV, 1941, 353–429.

[78] The churches in question are churches A and B at Nikopolis; and the churches at Epidauros; at Arkitsa-Daphnousia, near Lokris; at Corinth; and by the Ilissos, near Athens. The church at Dodona also may probably be considered as a later (sixth-century) derivative. The evidence for these buildings is summarised by G. A. Soteriou, "Αἱ παλαιοχριστιανικαὶ βασιλικαὶ τῆς 'Ελλάδος", *Arch. Eph.*, 1929, pp. 161–248; see also 'Die altchristlichen Basiliken Griechenlands', *Atti IV Congr. Arch. Crist.*, pp. 355–80; and Krautheimer, *op. cit.* pp. 417–23. For Corinth, see *Hesperia*, xii, 1943, pp. 166–189.

Outside Greece a solitary instance of the tripartite transept can be seen in Church I at Bosra, in Syria.[79] Otherwise S. Pietro in Vincoli stands alone, and is rightly regarded as an intruder into the Roman series, introduced from Greece. None of the Greek churches of this form is precisely dated; but several are certainly of the fifth century, and there seems no reason to doubt the conventional attribution of the whole group to the same century, or in some cases possibly to the closing years of the fourth.[80] It may, or may not, prove to be significant that the church at Epidauros, the only one in which the transept is further subdivided, as in the Athanasian church at Abu Mîna, into five compartments, is considered to be an early member of the series.

With the great Period IV church we are on very different ground. It has nothing whatever to do either with the Greek tripartite transept or with the tall, narrow, continuous transept interposed between the nave and the apse of the two great Constantinian basilicas in Rome, St. Peter's and St. John Lateran. Whatever be the purpose of the latter, it is quite clear that, outside Rome in the fourth century, it was singularly without influence on contemporary church architecture, and only came into its own four centuries later when it was adopted as part of the self-conscious revival of classical types characteristic of the Carolingian renaissance.[81]

In marked contrast to either of the above-mentioned types the Period IV church is distinguished by its architectural unity. Nave and transepts are not juxtaposed elements but part of an integrated whole radiating from a common centre. This unity of plan is a characteristic shared with the cruciform *memoria*, a well-attested early type, which seems to have been associated particularly with the martyr-cult.[82] Guyer may be right in attributing to the cruciform *memoria* a decisive initial influence in the development of the type of transept under discussion. In the present state of knowledge it is, however, prudent to recall that there is still a link missing in the evidence, for as yet no symmetrically planned, cruciform, basilical church has been identified from the fourth or fifth centuries. All—Salona, the pre-Justinian church of St. John at Ephesus, the church of the Martyrs and Apostles at Gerasa, and perhaps H. Demetrios at Salonica [83]—to a greater or lesser extent emphasise the major axis, and to this extent deviate from the pure cruciform plan. The earliest dated example, the Theophilan church of St. Menas, lacks the eastern arm altogether. It is open to argument that the influence of the cruciform *memoria* was rather that of the later assimilation of an established type than the provision of the initial impulse.

[79] H. C. Butler, *Early Churches in Syria*, Princeton, 1929, p. 118 f.

[80] Soteriou, *op. cit.* passim; Krautheimer, *op. cit.* pp. 422–3.

[81] R. Krautheimer, 'The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture', *Art Bulletin*, XXIV, 1942, pp. 1–38.

[82] Most recently and fully studied by A. Grabar, *Martyrium*, Paris, 1946 (available to the writer only when this article was in proof). See also S. Guyer, 'Beiträge zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Kreuzformig-basilikalen Kirchenbaus des Abendlandes', *Zeitschrift für Schweizerisches Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*, VII, 1945, pp. 73–104. This work is a preliminary study for a longer work which this author has in preparation. Guyer is followed by Krautheimer ('S. Pietro in Vincoli etc.', pp. 413–17), who strangely quotes the Theophilan church of St. Menas as the best example of the basilica with central tomb and radiating transepts.

[83] Early cruciform basilical churches:

Salona (*490–540*): R. Egger and W. Gerber, *Forschungen in Salona*, I, Vienna, 1917, p. 23 ff.; Dyggve, *Atti IV Congr. Arch. Crist.*, pp. 391–414.

Ephesus (*not precisely dated, but pre-Justinian*): J. Keil, 'Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabung in Ephesos', *Jahreshefte d. Oesterreichischen Arch. Inst.*, Beiblatt XXVII, 1932; Guyer, *Atti III Congr. Arch. Crist.*, p. 438, fig. 5.

Gerasa, ch. of the Martyrs and Apostles (*464–465*): J. W. Crowfoot, *Gerasa*, New Haven 1938, p. 256 ff.; and *Early Churches in Palestine*, London 1941, pp. 85–8, fig. 8.

Salonica, H. Demetrios (*?412–413*): I follow Krautheimer, 'S. Pietro in Vincoli' etc., pp. 415–16 and footnote 216.

The group is discussed by Guyer, *Atti III Congr. Arch. Crist.*, pp. 433 ff.; and by Crowfoot, *Gerasa*, pp. 190 ff.

It is well also to be cautious in assuming, formally or by implication, a uniformity of liturgical usage and thought in an age which was still very much feeling its way. Of the two known fourth-century examples of the cruciform *memoria*, with four radiating arms of equal length, the one at Antioch-Kaoussié, dated 379–80, commemorates a local martyr, St. Babylas;[84] the other housed Jacob's well at Sichem.[85] It should be noted that whereas in the latter it was the object of veneration which occupied the centre of the building, at Antioch this position was reserved, not for the actual tomb of the martyr, but for the altar of the church.

We find the same diversity in the big early transeptal basilicas. In the pre-Justinian church of St. John at Ephesus the tomb of the saint stood within a central tomb-chapel, which opened to the north, south, and west upon three radiating basilical naves; the fourth side was closed by an apse, excluding the wide five-aisled nave which projected eastwards to complete the cruciform plan. In the great Theophilan church of St. Menas, on the other hand, it was the chancel and the high altar which occupied the centre of the radiating plan; the body of the Saint lay right outside the church, in a crypt to the west of the main door, a strange position indeed if employment of the cruciform or of the transeptal plan be held to depend upon an architectural tradition, or liturgical usage, in which the object of veneration coincided with the point of maximum architectural emphasis.

At Abu Mîna the purpose is surely clear. This was a great church, built, we are told, because its predecessor 'could not hold the multitudes, but they were standing outside in the desert' (p. 33). The lay-out was a simple and effective way of ensuring, for the maximum number of pilgrims, a close and uninterrupted participation in the rites and ceremonies of the central sanctuary. Precisely the same considerations faced the architect of any church that was the object of a popular pilgrimage with a specific martyr-cult. It is hardly surprising that the same solution should have been adopted elsewhere, and for the same reason. The church at Ephesus, which in plan most nearly approximates to the Theophilan church of St. Menas, was itself the goal of many pilgrims. Fifty years later an identical expedient was to be adopted in another great centre of pilgrimage, the church of Kala'ât Sim'ân near Antioch, with its four basilical arms radiating from a central octagon, in which stood the object of veneration, the column of St. Simeon Stylites.[86] Here, as at Ephesus, the easternmost arm was separated from the rest of the building, for the use of the officiating clergy.

Locally in Egypt the transeptal plan had little or no influence outside the narrow coastal belt of which the sanctuary was the natural centre. At Abu Mîna itself it was followed in miniature by the builders of the small detached chapel to the east of the shrine;[87] and its influence can certainly be detected at Abu Sir (Taposiris), ten miles away on the coast near Burg el-Arab, in the plan of the first church to be built (*c.* 390–400?) on the site of the former temple of Osiris.[88] To it can probably be traced

[84] J. Lassus and G. Downey in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. II, Princeton, 1938, pp. 5–48; *Atti IV Congr. Arch. Crist.*, p. 340, fig. 4.

[85] Known from a seventh-century drawing by Arculf, reproduced in Migne, *Patrologia latina*, LXXXVIII, col. 802; and *Atti III Congr. Arch. Crist.*, p. 439, fig. 6.

[86] Most recently and convincingly studied, on the basis of excavation in the east church and octagon, by O. Krencker and R. Naumann, *Die Wallfahrtskirche des Simeon Stylites in Kala'ât Sim'ân* (Abh. d. preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, 1938, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 41) Berlin, 1939. The central octagon almost certainly carried a wooden dome.

[87] Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, fig. 46–7.

[88] J. B. Ward Perkins, 'The Monastery of Taposiris Magna', *B.S.R.A. Alex.*, No. 36, 1945, pp. 3–8.

also the use of a transept in the early fifth-century church at Apollonia in the Cyrenaican Pentapolis, a district which was at this time strongly under the influence of Alexandrian Christianity.[89] In upper Egypt, on the other hand, the transept is never found.

Nave Ambulatories. In contrast to the incorporation of a transept, a clear link with later Coptic architecture is afforded by the provision, albeit apparently in a rather specialised form, of a third aisle at the end of each transept in addition to the two lateral aisles of the normal basilical plan. This is a typical feature of later Coptic church-planning, found already in the mid-fifth-century monasteries at Sohag and frequently adopted later. At Abu Mîna, too, it was used also in the cemetery church.[90]

The plan of the terminal aisle given in Pl. XI is based on that published by Kaufmann and on the remains superficially visible. It raises certain structural difficulties, particularly in relation to the upper galleries of the transept. These would naturally have been expected to conform to the ambulatory plan of the ground floor. Instead, if the plan as given is correct, the central section of both orders must have been occupied by a wide and lofty arch, reaching nearly to roof-height and giving in a more open form something of the impression of the 'triumphal arch' customary at the junction of nave and transepts. Confirmation of this feature, as indeed of several other details of the Theophilan church, would require careful re-excavation. In the meantime a note of caution is desirable.

The ambulatory is not common in early Christian basilical planning. Monneret de Villard quotes several Syrian examples. It was, however, a form thoroughly established in civil architecture and so well adapted to the special needs of a pilgrimage church, that it is hardly necessary to look farther afield in search of parallels. It remains in that case problematical whether its subsequent employment in Coptic architecture is due to direct borrowing from Abu Mîna or whether both alike derive from a common local tradition of civil architecture.

Three Projecting Apses. Projecting from the east wall of the fourth-century Athanasian church were two, almost certainly three, apses. The plan is markedly individual. But even in a more stereotyped form the use of three projecting apses is rare and sporadic, and nowhere demonstrably early. Examples known to the writer of early basilical churches with this feature are:

GREECE

Hypate: G. A. Soteriou, *Arch. Eph.*, 1929, 186–7, and fig. 19. Known from sketch-plan only. Considered by Soteriou to be post-Justinian.

Nikopolis: G. A. Soteriou, *Atti IV Congr. Arch. Crist.*, p. 361, fig. 6. Central apse has two external buttresses. Considered by Soteriou to be post-Justinian.

ROUMANIA

Ibida: D. Ciurea, *Atti IV Congr. Arch. Crist.*, p. 388 and pl. 11. Not dated.

SYRIA

Kal'ât Sim'ân, the east church, *c.* 460–90. See p. 54, n. 86.

[89] P. Romanelli, *Atti IV Congr. Arch. Crist.*, 1938, p. 274, fig. 23; J. B. Ward Perkins, *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* IX, 1943, pp. 126–31.

[90] U. Monneret de Villard, *Atti IV Congr. Arch. Crist.*, p. 315, lists all the Egyptian examples of this form and illustrates several, including the cemetery church at Abu Mîna (after Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, fig. 46).

PALESTINE

Yarûn (Galilee): C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine*, 1, London, 1881, p. 258. Brought to my notice by Professor Monneret de Villard. See, however, S. W. Crowfoot, *Atti IV Congr. Arch. Crist.*, p. 324, and *Early Churches in Palestine*, London, 1941, who states that the projecting triapsidal plan does not occur in Palestine.

TRANSJORDANIA

Pella (Khirbet Fahil), two churches, both with three projecting apses. J. Richmond, *Pal. Explor. Fund Quarterly Statement* 1934, pp. 26–9 and pl. V; also A. M. Schneider, 'Sudjudaische Kirchen', *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Pal. Vereins* LXI, 1938, 106, fig. 20. Brought to my notice by Professor Monneret de Villard.

This form does not appear to be found in the western Mediterranean. In southern Palestine and Sinai the form with three inscribed apses is certainly both relatively early and common; but only exceptionally is the line of the outer wall broken, and then only by the partial projection of the central apse.[91]

The source from which the architect of St. Athanasius' church derived this unusual feature is happily beyond dispute. The one certain fact about the mud-brick chapel, which earlier marked the grave of St. Menas, is that it possessed two projecting apses flanking a destroyed central feature. It is not unduly fanciful to conjecture that the remoter origins, too, are to be sought locally.

It was not, however, until a very much later dater that the triapsidal basilical plan was established in Coptic Egypt, and then invariably inscribed within a plain rectangular exterior. The Athanasian church stood barely thirty years before it was superseded by the Theophilan building with its single projecting apse, and it appears to have left no mark on contemporary or later Egyptian practice.

Buttressed Apse. The single projecting apse of the Period IV church, while unique in the early Christian architecture of Egypt, is in itself a feature familiar enough elsewhere to call for little comment. It is, however, in this case further distinguished by the addition of radiating external buttresses. These buttresses are characteristic of the fifth-century architecture of the Eastern Adriatic coast.[92] Elsewhere they are unusual at this early date. An example in Asia Minor is the church of St. Thekla, *c.* 470, at Meriamlik, Cilicia.[93]

Spherical Triangular Pendentives. The origin of the pendentive, as a means of adapting a dome to a square space, is a subject on which scholars have lavished much attention, but have often contrived to generate more heat than light. This result must be attributed in no small degree to the misleading antithesis inherent in the question 'Rome or the Orient?', which has dominated so much enquiry in this field in the last few decades, and has given rise to a great deal of incautious generalisation. Much of this might have been avoided by a more scrupulous regard for the architectural grammar of the subject, and by

[91] Since this article was prepared the writer learns that recent work in S. Pietro in Vincoli, Rome, has shown that the two small flanking apses are contemporary with the transept and are the work of Sixtus III (432–40). *Riv. Arch. Crist.* XXI, 1944–5, p. 324.

[92] Nikopolis, in Epirus, Basilicas A (fifth century) and B (second half of fifth century), Soteriou, *Arch. Eph.*, 1929, figs. 33 and 37; Paramythia, in Epirus, *ibid.* fig. 36; Philippi, second Basilica, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* LXI, 1937, 463 ff.; *Atti IV Congr. Arch. Crist.*, p. 369, fig. 15; Marusinac, main church (mid first-half fifth century), E. Dyggve and R. Egger, *Forschungen in Salona*, Vol. III, Vienna, 1939; *Atti IV Congr. Arch. Crist.*, p. 402, fig. 15. The apse of the Basilica at Sabratha in Tripolitania is wrongly shown as of this form by Bartoccini, *Guida di Sabratha*, 1927, reproduced by Romanelli, *Atti IV Congr. Arch. Crist.*, p. 247, fig. 1.

[93] E. Herzfeld and S. Guyer, *Meriamlik und Korykos* (Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua, Vol. II, Manchester, 1930), p. 14, figs. 8 and 14. The authors quote a second example at Miletus.

a recognition of the fact that, save in a few thoroughly explored areas of the field (such as Italy), the available material is not yet sufficient to warrant a comprehensive judgement. The immediate need is for a larger body of agreed and carefully studied evidence.[94]

At Abu Mîna, the sub-structures of the Period IV church, *c.* 400, contain one certain instance of a square chamber with a brick dome springing from fully developed, spherical-triangular pendentives (Pl. VI, 3). This somewhat cumbrous phrase is necessary if we are to distinguish between those more elementary pendentives, which follow the curve of the simple spherical or domical vault without interruption and so constitute a uniform downward prolongation of the curved surface into the angles of the square space beneath, and those which, while themselves segments of a spherical surface, follow a curve at a sharp angle to that of the dome above, and thus retain their identity as separate triangular elements distinct from the actual dome.[95] The simpler form belongs to the continuous vault (*volta a vela*, *Hängekuppel*), which is, relative to the true dome, an elementary form of construction that had a wide currency in the classical Roman world as a means of vaulting square rooms of modest dimensions. The spherical-triangular pendentive, on the other hand, belongs to a group of devices of a more ambitious character, whereby a true dome, of greater height and span than the spherical vault, could be accommodated to a square plan. Failure to observe the distinction between the two forms often results in obscuring the elementary fact that the former was in general use throughout the Mediterranean world long before the earliest authenticated appearance of the developed spherical–triangular pendentive; and a good deal of the evidence often adduced for the origins of the latter is in consequence of very little direct relevance to the question at issue.

It may well be that the vault over the actual tomb-chamber was of the simpler, continuous spherical form, which would have been better adapted to cover the relatively larger area without projecting through the pavement above. At Karânis, in the Faiyûm, vaults of this form were found in the second of three distinct building levels, of which the third, and latest, had been finally abandoned about 450.[96] The shallow pitch of some of these reveals a level of technical competence that is the more notable in that Karânis was a modest provincial town with few architectural pretensions. The vaults in the cemetery of el-Bagawât (see above, p. 40) are of the same general construction, though rather more lofty. There can, in fact, be no doubt that the technical background of the brick vaulting of the Period IV crypt and baptistry at Abu Mîna is to be sought in the indigenous craftsmanship of Roman Egypt. What is new to this tradition, at least in so far as its remains have so far been recorded, is the appearance, in the small chapel of the crypt, of two elements, the developed spherical–triangular pendentive and the squinch (see following section), both of which belong properly to a more ambitious architecture. In the context they can most naturally be explained as elements already current in the architecture of Alexandria; and their use in a building that can be so securely dated to the opening years of the fifth century is a fact of no little significance.

[94] See J. B. Ward Perkins, *The Italian Element in Late Roman and Early Medieval Architecture* (British Academy Annual Italian Lecture, 1947), London, 1949, pp. 17–8.

[95] In rejecting this useful and generally accepted distinction, Creswell (*Early Muslim Architecture*, II, 1940, p. 322) adds a quite unnecessary element of confusion to the controversy.

[96] A. E. R. Boak and E. E. Peterson, *Karânis 1924–28* (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, No. XXV, 1929), pl. XIV, fig. 28; cf. pp. 23–4, pls. XIII, XVIII. For the chronology see also D. B. Harden, *Roman Glass from Karânis* (Same series, No. XLI, 1936), pp. 24–34. The terminal date is not in dispute.

Squinches. The squinch (*Pennacchio a tromba* or *a mezzo padiglione*, *Eckstrompe*) can take a number of forms, but all consist in essence of some form of small structural arch springing from the upper part of two adjacent walls and spanning the angle between them, to bridge the transition from a square or polygonal space to a dome. The angle within this small corner-arch is often itself half-domed. In its simplest form, it is structurally less satisfactory than the spherical pendentive, for it softens, but does not wholly resolve, the awkward junction between circle and square or polygon. But it was capable of considerable and ingenious development; and it had a long and varied currency in the later architecture of both East and West.

If the Palace of Firūzābād were rightly dated to the third century, the case for a Sassanian origin would be strong.[97] What is in any case beyond dispute is that it was already in use, both in Italy and in the Eastern Mediterranean, in the fifth century. The four well-developed squinches in the baptistry of S. Giovanni a Fonte at Naples, the work of Bishop Soter (465–86), have hitherto enjoyed pride of place as the earliest certainly attested examples in the Roman world.[98] Those which support the half-dome in the chapel of the crypt at Abu Mîna are half a century earlier. In themselves they are modest, but they are enough to show that, like the pendentive, the squinch was already familiar in Alexandria at the beginning of the fifth century.

Narthex with Apsidal Exedrae. A distinctive feature of the Period IV complex is the narthex with its lateral pair of columnar exedrae. At first sight these exedrae call to mind the columnar exedrae which were to play so important a part in the developed sixth-century architecture of North Italy and of Constantinople. Their employment, however, is entirely different. Whereas in the series which leads up to Haghia Sophia and to San Vitale, the exedrae perform an essential architectural function, here they have no structural significance whatever. It is tempting to regard them as a derivation from an established functional type; but it must be admitted that in the disputed question of the origins of the latter their evidential value is slight.

In more general terms the narthex, with its two opposed apsidal exedrae, should perhaps be related to a group of Italian monuments, at the head of which in the Christian series stands the Mausoleum of Santa Costanza at Rome.[99] Other surviving examples are the baptistry built by Sixtus III, 423–40, in replacement of the Constantinian baptistry of St. John Lateran;[100] S. Ippolito, Milan, third quarter of the fifth century;[101] San Vitale

[97] The squinches of Firūzābād are well developed and betray a competent tradition (accessibly illustrated by G. T. Rivoira, *Le Origini della Architettura Lombarda*, Rome, 1901, fig. 124, and *Lombardic Architecture*, 2nd edition, Oxford, 1933, vol. I, fig. 290). Their date, however, is far from certain. The palace is often assigned to the third century A.D. (e.g. by O. M. Dalton, *East Christian Art*, Oxford, 1925, p. 78, n. 1, and p. 82, n. 1; and by K. A. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, II, 1940, pp. 101–5); but the evidence is far from conclusive. It may well be two centuries later. The palace of Sarvistān is certainly not earlier than the fifth century. For bibliography on the squinch, see Creswell, *op. cit.*, p. 101, n. 1.

[98] E. Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale*, Paris, 1901, p. 40; G. T. Rivoira, *Roman Architecture*, Oxford, 1925, fig. 311. It may not be without significance in this context that the rectangular form of this baptistry, familiar in the Eastern Mediterranean and North Africa, is unique in the Early Christian series of Italy (E. Sjöqvist, 'Studi intorno alla piazza del Collegio Romano', *Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae*, XII, 1946, 138). Earlier than this baptistry or the chapel at Abu Mîna is the small Caldarium, added *c.* A.D. 300 to the Hunting Baths at Lepcis Magna (*Archaeologia* XCII, 1949); and to the fourth century belong the well-developed squinches in the towers of the Aurelian Walls, noted by Dr. L. Cozza (Lecture at the Museo di Roma, 8 April, 1948).

[99] Recently well surveyed by Stettler, *Roemische Mitteilungen* LVIII, 1943, pp. 76–86; for the most recent bibliography see Sjöqvist, *op. cit.* p. 144, n. 3.

[100] G. B. Giovenale, *Il Battistero Lateranense* (Studi di Antichità pubblicati per cura del Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, No. I, 1929).

[101] P. Verzone, *L'architettura religiosa dell'alto medioevo nell'Italia settentrionale*, Milan, 1942, pp. 79–90. G. Chierici, in *Palladio* II, 1938, 3, illustrates a similar feature in the narthex of S. Lorenzo at Milan, but this would appear to be a paper-restoration unwarranted by the known facts.

at Ravenna, begun between 520 and 530 and consecrated in 547; and the church of S. Giovanni Battista at Canosa.[102] A porch with two opposed exedrae was added in the fifth century to the so-called Temple of Minerva Medica in Rome;[103] and the same feature can be seen in the plans, made by an anonymous Florentine artist before 1514, of the two imperial mausolea, later the churches of S. Andrea and of S. Petronilla, which were destroyed alongside old St. Peter's in the early sixteenth century.[104]

Outside Italy the only examples known to the writer are to be found in Asia Minor[105] and in the churches of Coptic Egypt, which presumably, in this respect at any rate, stem directly from Abu Mîna. The derivation is particularly clear in Deyr el-Abiad, Sohag, *c.* 440,[106] which repeats the otherwise unique, columnar form of the Abu Mîna exedrae. At Dendera[107] the exedrae are, more conventionally, apsidal recesses, so inscribed within the thickness of the wall as not to break the characteristically plain, rectangular outer perimeter. At Deyr Abu Hennis and at Medamûd there is one such exedra only; and the church of Abu Sargeh in Old Cairo may represent a tardy survival of the same tradition.[108]

The semi-circular screen over the tomb. Whether or not the nave of the Athanasian church was an open courtyard in Period IV, the semi-circular screen over the tomb seems to have been a free-standing feature; and there can be little doubt that, like the exhedrae of the narthex, it carried a light half-dome of brick. The significance of the free-standing apse as an early form of martyrion has recently been fully discussed by A. Grabar (*Martyrium*, Paris, 1946).

Octagonal Baptistry. So many conflicting claims have been made about the origins of the architectural form represented by the Period IV baptistry at Abu Mîna, that it is useful to call attention to the fact that, already by the close of the fourth century, it was firmly established in the civil architecture both of the eastern and of the western Mediterranean. In Italy we find it as early as the close of the first century in the Flavian Domus Augustana on the Palatine;[109] and with very slight modification it persisted, notably as an element of bath architecture, until it was adopted by the Christian Church of North Italy as a standard baptistry plan.[110] In the Near East we find it already established in the

[102] R. Bartoccini, *Felix Ravenna*, n.s. III, 1934, 158, fig. 1.

[103] G. Caraffa, *La cupola della sala decagona degli Horti Liciniani: restauri 1942*, Rome, 1944. The (as yet unpublished) survey, undertaken shortly before the war by Dr. F. W. Deichmann, has shown that the original construction of this building dates from the second decade of the fourth century; and that the porch belongs to a third structural period.

[104] H. Koethe, *Roemische Mitteilungen* XLVI, 1931, 9–26, and plan, abb. 2; reproduced also by C. Cecchelli, *Atti III Convegno nazionale di Storia dell'Architettura*, Rome, 1940, p. 149.

[105] Gulbağdsche, near Smyrna: Karl Michel, 'Die altchristliche Kirchenanlage von Gülboghdsche', *Forschungen zur Kirchengeschichte und zür christlichen Kunst* (*Festschrift Ficker*), Leipzig, 1931, pp. 180–200, probably second half of the fifth century; see also G. Weber, 'Basilika und Baptisterium in Gülboghdsche', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1901, pp. 568–73; and J. Strzygowski, *Kleinasien ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 49, fig. 35 (the plan wrongly indicates a transept). Aphrodisias, church in the temple of Aphrodite: L. Crema, *Monumenti Antichi* XXXVIII, 1939, 179, fig. 34.

[106] U. Monneret de Villard, *Les Couvents près de Sohag*, Milan, 1925–6, vol. I, figs. 3 and 18; and *Atti IV Congr. Arch. Crist.*, p. 300, fig. 7.

[107] U. Monneret de Villard, *op. cit.* pp. 47–8, fig. 52; and *Atti IV Congr. Arch. Crist.*, p. 303, fig. 9.

[108] Deyr Abu Hennis: Somers Clarke, *Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley*, Oxford, 1912, pp. 181–7, fig. 4. *Atti IV Congr. Arch. Crist.*, p. 297, fig. 4. Medamûd: M. F. Bisson de la Roque, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1931–1932)*, Cairo, 1933, pp. 13–20. *Atti IV Congr. Arch. Crist.*, p. 312, fig. 19. Abu Sargeh: *Atti IV Congr. Arch. Crist.*, p. 313, fig. 21.

[109] G. Lugli, *Atti del III Convegno Nazionale di Storia dell'architettura*, Rome, 1940, p. 97; sketch-plan in G. T. Rivoira, *Architettura Romana*, 1921, fig. 120.

[110] The Italian development has been well studied by G. De Angelis d'Ossat, whose work, with earlier bibliography, is summarised in two articles: 'Sugli edifici ottagonali a cupola nell'antichità e nel medio evo', *Atti del I Convegno Nazionale di storia dell'architettura*, Rome, 1938, pp. 14–24; and *Romanità delle Cupole Paleocristiane*, Rome (Istituto di Studi Romani), 1946, p. 13, fig. 3. See also P. Verzone, *L'Architettura religiosa dell'alto medioevo nell'Italia Settentrionale*, Milan, 1942.

second century, in a bath-building (Bath C) at Antioch;[111] and it had no inconsiderable influence on the Near Eastern Christian architecture of the fourth and later centuries.[112] The baptistry at Kal'ât Sim'ân,[113] *c.* 460–90, with its flanking halls and entrance corridor, affords an unusually close and interesting parallel to that of Abu Mîna.

The Ninth-century Church. The church built by the Patriarch Joseph differs markedly from the roughly contemporary architecture of the Wadi'n-Natrûn. The sack of the latter site, *c.* 817, had swept away almost entirely the earlier buildings, and the surviving remains of the ninth-century reconstruction reveal a standardisation of practice approximating closely to later Coptic usage.[114] Indeed, the only important difference is that the nave is not yet vaulted, but retains the traditional timber roof. There is already a rigid division between nave and chancel and, within the chancel, between the three *haikals* or chapels. In the ninth century the central *haikal* was normally square and covered with a dome set on sleeper beams laid across the angles; and it was flanked by two tall, narrow, barrel-vaulted lateral *haikals*.

Such an arrangement presupposes internal walls sufficiently solid to carry the dome over the central *haikal*, and of these there is no trace at Abu Mîna. The retention of the two Period IV niches flanking the central apse indicates that the chancel was probably in some way subdivided; but the division can hardly have been more substantial than wooden partitions, and the whole chancel was probably roofed as a unit. The apses are another unusual feature. The ordinary Coptic *haikal* is square-ended. In other words, the ninth-century church at Abu Mîna reveals considerably less progress than its contemporary neighbours in the Wadi'n-Natrûn towards the idiosyncrasies of later Coptic church architecture; and there can be little doubt that, in this, it reflects its closer contact with Alexandria.

E. NOTES ON THE SCULPTURAL ORNAMENT AND ON THE RELATION OF ABU MÎNA TO ALEXANDRIA AND TO COPTIC EGYPT

The foregoing notes cover some only of the more striking of the architectural features revealed at Abu Mîna. They are in no sense exhaustive; and little or no mention is made of other features, which are equally important for the appraisal of the shrine's significance in relation to contemporary architectural currents, on which, however, any judgment would at present be premature. The developed plan of the Period IV Theophilan complex, for example, for all that (like the cathedral complex at Gerasa[115]) it owes something in detail to the architectural accidents of the shrine's growth, remains an important document for the study of the development of the principles of lay-out established by the

[111] *Antioch-on-the-Orontes, I, excavations of 1932*, Princeton, 1934: C. S. Fisher, 'Bath C', pp. 19–31, plan pl. V. C. R. Morey, *The Mosaics of Antioch*, London and New York, 1938, plan p. 12. The bath was built after the earthquake of 115, and rebuilt, on the same lines, in the fourth century.

[112] The church which Gregory of Nyssa, *c.* 335–95, built at Nyssa, was certainly of this general form, somewhat elaborated (Gregory of Nyssa, *Letter to Amphilochius* (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XLVI, 1093–1100); see reconstruction in J. Strzygowski, *Kleinasien ein Neuland des Kunstgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 74–90; for later bibliography see S. Guyer, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* XXXIII, 89–90). Surviving examples from the early sixth century are the well-known churches at Esra and Bosra, and the church of St. John the Baptist at Gerasa.

[113] De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, pl. 149; reproduced by Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, II, fig. 1363.

[114] White, III, p. 15 ff.

[115] *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis*, ed. Kraeling, New Haven, 1938.

great commemorative foundations of Constantine, such as the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem; and it may be relevant also to the history of the development of the canonical atrium–narthex–basilica complex. But detailed discussion of either point can be of little value until it is clearly established by excavation whether in Period IV the nave of the Athanasian church was, in fact, replaced by an atrium, or whether instead some part of the earlier structure was retained in use. Excavation is equally required for a fuller knowledge of the primitive shrine and of the Athanasian church, and to establish in detail the character of the internal fittings not only of the latter but also of its Theophilan successor.

There are, moreover, several aspects of the site, which are open to immediate enquiry without further excavation, on which, however, the writer had neither the time nor the facilities adequately to supplement the exiguous and misleading accounts published by Kaufmann. No discussion of the architecture of the Sanctuary can, for example, be complete without a comparative examination of the other important excavated buildings, notably of the cemetery church [116] and of the bath-building with its two-apsed basilical hall.[117]

Another aspect of the remains, which must await more favourable conditions for a detailed study, is the architectural ornament. The best of this was removed by Kaufmann to Frankfurt-am-Main, where circumstances have not permitted its inspection; nor was the writer in a position to secure the necessary documentation of the fragments surviving on the site itself. It may, nevertheless, be useful to point out in this concluding section certain general features, which have an important bearing on the relation between the art of Christian Alexandria and that of Coptic Egypt.

A masterly statement, not only of the wider problems presented by Coptic sculpture but also of the chronology and content of the sculpture itself, is to be found in an article published ten years ago by Ernst Kitzinger.[118] He starts from a re-examination of the important sculpture from Ahnâs, the classical Heracleopolis.[119] This forms a continuous series, ranging from the earlier, 'soft' group, in which the classical element is still relatively strong, to the more rigid stylisation of the later 'hard' group. On the evidence of the associated capitals, the central dates for these two groups can be shown to be *c.* 400 and the middle of the fifth century, respectively. This Ahnâs sculpture is only in part Coptic, in the strict sense of the term, for much of it, probably the majority, is pagan work.[120] But it is the immediate iconographic and stylistic forerunner of the developed Coptic sculpture of Bawît [121] and of Saqqara,[122] which can be securely dated, again on the evidence of the associated capitals, to the mid-sixth century.

The source, from which much of the Ahnâs sculpture was itself developed, has been put beyond question by the excavation of a group of comparable, but earlier, sculpture at

[116] Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, plan fig. 46 (reproduced by Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. *Ménas*, fig. 7964).

[117] Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, plan fig. 49 (reproduced by Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. *Ménas*, fig. 7955). D. Krencker and E. Krüger, *Die Trierer Kaiserthermen*, Augsburg, 1929, p. 235.

[118] E. Kitzinger, 'Notes on Early Coptic Sculpture', *Archaeologia* LXXXVII, 1938, pp. 181–215.

[119] Previously studied by U. Monneret de Villard, *La Scultura ad Ahnâs*, Milan, 1923.

[120] For the late survival of paganism in Egypt see Monneret de Villard, *op. cit.* p. 52, n. 1, citing the earlier bibliography. See also *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. I, 1911, p. 112 ff.

[121] E. Chassinat, *Fouilles à Baoût* (Mémoires de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire, vol. 13, 1911).

[122] J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara*, vol. III, 1909, and vol. IV, 1912.

Oxyrhyncus.[123] An important exception must be made of the figured mythological compositions which are the most striking and individual features of the Ahnâs sculpture. Whether or not Kitzinger is right in regarding these as a local Egyptian development,[124] it is clear that they had only a brief currency. They are found in rudimentary form at Oxyrhyncus; and they were dropped from the sixth-century Coptic repertory. The other characteristic features, however, of early Coptic sculpture, capitals, niches, and gables, almost without exception display a continuous and coherent development from the sculpture of Oxyrhyncus, through that of Ahnâs, to that of Saqqara and of Bawît. The Oxyrhyncus sculpture is not itself dated; but, as a group and allowing for individual exceptions, it can hardly be earlier than the beginning of the fourth century; and the Ahnâs group provides a *terminus ante quem* at the end of the same century.[125]

While the term Coptic can be properly applied only to the later Christian members of the series, the continuity within the series is such that it is to the wholly or predominantly pagan sculpture of Oxyrhyncus and of Ahnâs that we are bound to look for comparison with the surviving fourth- and fifth-century sculpture of Abu Mîna. The overwhelming conclusion from such a comparison is that neither in style nor in content is there the least similarity. The two series belong to different cultural and stylistic worlds.

The largest surviving body of comparative material is afforded by the capitals. A number of these are illustrated by Kaufmann;[126] and Kautzsch, in his valuable analysis of the late-classical capital, describes and in part illustrates some of the Corinthian capitals from Abu Mîna in the collection at Frankfurt.[127] Of the latter it is here sufficient to remark that they belong without exception to the general tradition of late-Roman craftsmanship in the eastern Mediterranean and are ascribed by Kautzsch to the fourth and fifth centuries. Of the characteristically Egyptian late-Roman and early Coptic Corinthian capital there is no trace. With its upper row of acanthus leaves so widely spaced as to expose the *caulicoli* and sheath-leaves, the junctions of which are further emphasised by conspicuous round knobs, the latter is a striking and easily recognisable form:[128] it is, moreover, peculiar to Egypt, so that its absence is all the more noteworthy. A further point of marked divergence lies in the treatment of the detail. At Abu Mîna there is no trace of that simplification and of that hardening into a sharp black-and-white pattern, which can be felt as early as the fourth century at Oxyrhyncus and was increasingly to become the salient characteristic of the succeeding Coptic sculpture. The relaxation of classical forms is here a process of dissolution, unaccompanied by any positive stylistic development.

The points of contact between the two series lie, significantly enough, in those capitals which are demonstrably intrusive to the local Egyptian series. Such, for example, is a fine Corinthian capital of Proconnesus marble, now in the Coptic Museum at Cairo, with

[123] Ev. Breccia, *Municipalité d'Alexandrie: le Musée gréco-romain 1925–31*, p. 60 ff; and 1931–2, p. 36 ff. For scattered sculpture from Oxyrhyncus see Kitzinger, *op. cit.* p. 200, n. 1.

[124] For a contrary opinion see Monneret de Villard, *op. cit.* passim, who stresses the parallels with the art of Syria, Mesopotamia, and India.

[125] Kitzinger, p. 200.

[126] *Menasstadt*, pls. 66–71.

[127] Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien* (Studien zür spätantiken Kunstgeschichte, No. 9), Berlin, 1936, nos. 50, 60, 73, 79, 82, 83, 100, 108, 109, 112, 122, 128, 129, 133, 138, 152, 153; pls. 6–9. These examples embrace his types 2, 3, 5–7, 9–13, 16.

[128] Kitzinger, pp. 187–8, pl. lxviii, 1, 2, 4; recently and more fully illustrated by E. Drioton, *Les sculptures coptes du Nilomètre de Rodah*, Cairo, 1942. Drioton accepts Kitzinger's main conclusion and chronology. See also J. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst* (*Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, vol. XII), Vienna, 1904, no. 7348, fig. 101.

an eagle in the centre of the abacus.[129] It is one of six formerly at Ahnâs, and it is unquestionably a stranger to the local series. At Abu Mîna, on the other hand, similar capitals fall naturally into place within the main series of capitals, many of which are themselves of island marble, while all reflect the same general stylistic background.[130]

The only other form of capital which Kautzsch records from Abu Mîna is that here illustrated in Pl. IX. 3, from the site of the Coptic Patriarchate in Alexandria,[131] a familiar eastern Mediterranean type with a pedigree that goes back to the Tower of the Winds at Athens, the Traianeum at Pergamon, and the Severan Forum at Lepcis Magna, to cite three familiar examples only. Of this late fluted form there are a number of examples in Cyrenaica and in the museum at Alexandria. It is not a common Coptic type, although a painted version is represented at Saqqara.[132]

Two other groups of capitals, found at Abu Mîna in considerable numbers but omitted by Kautzsch, deserve brief mention. The first of these comprises, in varying degrees of debasement, Ionic and composite Ionic capitals, in the latter of which the Corinthian element is always exiguous and may be reduced to four leaflets at the angles beneath the volutes.[133] Most are of modest dimensions. There is no example of the related Ionic impost-capital, a Greek type of which two examples, from Alexandria itself, are preserved in the Alexandria museum.[134] The second group comprises a wide variety of small capitals from screens, windows, and ornamental niches, ranging from small but fully articulated Corinthian to diminutive drums with four shallow leaves scored at the angles. A number of these incorporate the wreathed-cross motif (see below pp. 66–8), and in at least one instance this has displaced all other ornament.[135]

With the exception of the capitals, which are at least sufficiently numerous to be considered as representative, all too little of the architectural ornament of Abu Mîna has survived. The fragments of gold mosaic associated with the Period IV buildings of Archbishop Theophilus are a tantalising reminder of what has gone. The surviving column-bases, some of them securely dated to Period IV, are mainly of the form illustrated in Pl. VII, 1 with the Attic base and the moulded rectangular pedestal carved in a single block. This form originated in the eastern Mediterranean, where it is common from the second century onwards. It was later only, and then sporadically, that it found its way into the west.[136] At Lepcis Magna it is used, with base and plinth carved separately, in the great Severan Forum; and, carved in a single block, in a fourth-century portico beside the Theatre. In Rome it is hardly found before the fourth century. In the museum at Alexandria there are a number of scattered examples; and in Coptic Egypt it is not uncommon, though usually in a somewhat evolved form.[137] Pedestals of the same general

[129] Strzygowski, *op. cit.* no. 7350, fig. 102; *cf.* no. 7351, from Aschmunein.

[130] Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, pl. 66. 1 and 68. 8; Kautzsch, no. 79; *cf.* Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, pl. 68. 5, and 70. 1 and 5.

[131] Kautzsch, no. 753, pl. 44; see also Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, pl. 69. 6.

[132] J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* III, 1909, pl. xxii. 4–6; IV, 1912, pl. xl, 1–2; pl. xliii. 3; Duthuit, *L'art copte*, pl. xliv. b; *cf.* pl. xlv. a, from Cairo. The specimen illustrated in pl. ix. 3, from the site of the Coptic patriarchate in Alexandria, is now in the Greco-Roman Museum, inv. no. 13583.

[133] Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, pl. 68. 2. Kautzsch illustrates one in the Alexandria Museum, no. 737, pl. 44. See also Kaufmann, pl. 69. 6.

[134] Kautzsch, *op. cit.* no. 536, pl. 33.

[135] Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, pl. 69. 2; *cf.* pl. 69. 1 and 5; pl. 71. 3 and 4.

[136] See J. B. Ward Perkins, *J.R.S.* XXXVIII, 1948, p. 70.

[137] At Bawît, for example, the column-bases are raised as a regular practice. Quibell, *op. cit.* pl. XVIII, illustrates a pilaster with a pedestal reminiscent of the Abu Mîna form. The majority of the under-bases are, however, of plain rectangular shape (e.g. pl. LXVI), in one case elaborated into a crouching animal (pl. XXIV).

form, but octagonal in section (Pl. VII, 2) are less generally common than the rectangular type. An example, similar to those in the Period IV church at Abu Mîna, is recorded from Saqqara.[138]

There remain five fragments only which betray a certain relationship to contemporary Coptic work. Three of these belong to a set of pilaster-capitals found in the baptistry (Pl. IX, 4).[139] All three echo Corinthian forms in which, as at Ahnâsand Saqqara, the volutes have been absorbed and united with the sheath-leaves. More important perhaps, they illustrate in a loose but unmistakable form the *Wedelranken*, or acanthus shoots with leaves springing from both sides of the stem, which play so large a part in early Coptic ornament. Kitzinger has convincingly demonstrated that this is a local Egyptian convention, the early stages of which can be studied at Oxyrhyncus.[140] The substance of these capitals is, then, common to the Coptic tradition; and a further element common to the local Egyptian School, though it was rejected by the sculptors of Ahnâs, is the long naked *caulicoli* of the fourth fragment, also a pilaster-capital, which was found in the buildings lying to the north of the Theophilan church and identified by Kaufmann as the monastic quarters (Pl. X, 1). The same naked *caulicoli* can be seen on a fourth-century capital from Oxyrhyncus.[141] Even at this early stage, however, the comparison reveals the essential difference between the soft fluidity of treatment at Abu Mîna and the hard angularity of the Coptic and pre-Coptic series. These four pilaster-capitals at Abu Mîna reveal a certain community of tradition, but none of treatment. At most they indicate a reciprocal influence from contemporary sculpture. The fifth fragment (Pl. IX, 2)[142] is all that remains of a chancel-slab. The little detached spray of three leaves in the surviving triangular compartment would not be out of place in the Coptic series.

From this brief survey it is possible to draw two conclusions at any rate of some general significance. The first of these is the essentially conservative character of all the surviving fourth- and fifth-century material at Abu Mîna. A more detailed study reveals local characteristics and details of treatment to distinguish it from the contemporary work of other eastern Mediterranean centres. But by contrast with the mannerisms of the contemporary Egyptian pre-Coptic and Coptic style represented at Oxyrhyncus and at Ahnâs, it represents a decided, if decadent, classicism. The second point of interest is that, apart from repairs and replacements, there is nothing here that is obviously later than the fifth century. In particular, there is no trace here, and very little in Alexandria itself, of the Justinian imperial art, which is so striking a feature in the reconquered Vandal provinces of North Africa and in Italy. This absence is a revealing commentary on the scope and purposes of the policy of deliberate cultural re-absorption, which we see reflected not only in the pages of Procopius, but in the remains of so many sixth-century buildings, great and small, in the central and western Mediterranean.

We can supplement this picture by a glance at the Christian remains of Alexandria

[138] Quibell, *op. cit.* vol. III, pl. V. For its use elsewhere see L. Crema, 'I monumenti architettonici afrodisiensi', *Monumenti Antichi*, XXXVIII, 1939, col. 223, figs. 57, 58, and 60 (Aphrodisias, in Caria, a later modification to the Tiberian portico of the agora); A. von Gerkan, *Das Stadion* (*Milet*, ed. Th. Wiegand, vol. II. 1), pl. III and V (Miletus, the late third-century east entrance to the stadium); D. Krencker and W. Zschietzmann, *Römische Tempel in Syrien*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1938, p. 245 ff. (Ain Hersha, Syria, third-century temple *in antis*).

[139] After Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, pl. 65. 8. The other two are illustrated *op. cit.* pls. 65. 9 and 68. 7. *Cf.* notably, Duthuit, *L'art copte*, pl. lx. b, panel from Deir el-Ganadla, near Aboutig; H. Peirce and R. Tylor, *L'art byzantin*, vol. I, Paris, 1932, no. 139.

[140] Kitzinger, pp. 195–6; pls. lxxi–lxxii.

[141] Kitzinger, p. 188, pl. lxviii. 1.

[142] After Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, pl. 68. 6.

itself, as represented by the collections of the city's Greco-Roman Museum. These notably confirm the impression of a somewhat conservative classicism. The majority of the capitals are of Corinthian or composite types, identical in form, material, and craftsmanship with those of Abu Mîna. There are, however, in addition a certain number of more exotic forms, which indicate wider horizons. There are, for example, two Ionic impost-capitals from rue Sidi Abu Dardâ.[143] They are carved in local stone, and the wreathed cross on the impost stamps them as of local workmanship (see p. 67). But while the form falls readily into place within a long series represented in the Greek mainland, it is found nowhere else in the Egyptian series. These two capitals are unquestionably intruders. The same is true of a remarkable fifth-century Corinthian capital with foliated masks at the angles in place of the volutes.[144] It belongs to a widely distributed and varied group of capitals with a long classical ancestry, of which other examples are recorded from Egypt. In this instance, however, the hard, drilled treatment of the acanthus leaves and of the foliage of the hair and beard leaves no doubt as to its direct metropolitan affinities.

To the same general orbit as the capitals and other sculptural remains of Abu Mîna belong a group of antiquities found during quarrying operations to the west of Alexandria near the village of el-Dekhêla, and now in the Greco-Roman Museum. This is believed to be the site of one of the group of monasteries of Ennaton, a community which took its name from its proximity to the ninth milestone out of the city. The remains consist of a homogeneous group of fourteen epitaphs from a monastic cemetery, twelve of them dated between 524 and 590;[145] and a group of sculpture which presumably represents the scanty remains of the fittings of the convent church. The latter comprises the column of a canopy or of a chancel-screen, fluted spirally above and vertically below; the lower part of a similar column, slotted to take a transenna; seven Corinthian or fluted capitals of various sizes; an open-work transenna (Pl. IX, 1 and 5); two small chancel-posts (Pl. VIII, 3); and a bas-relief of St. Menas between two kneeling camels (Pl. VIII, 1).[146] The last-named is almost certainly a copy of the cult-figure at Abu Mîna (see p. 46); and the capitals are in the same simple tradition as the majority of the smaller capitals at Abu Mîna. The transenna, and in particular the foliate ornament in the angles of the central panel, offer an interesting parallel to the pilaster-capital from the monastic quarters illustrated in Pl. X, 1. The evidence of the inscriptions, which may well be a chance group from a larger series, tells us no more than that the community was already established in 524. The sculpture may well be earlier; and whatever its date, the tradition is clearly that illustrated in the early years of the fifth century at Abu Mîna.

The sixth century is represented by a single imported group of three impost-capitals of varying sizes in the Greco-Roman Museum; a fourth, also from Alexandria, in the Cairo Museum; and a fifth in the en-Nasir mosque at Cairo.[147] All are of the type, best known perhaps from its use in San Vitale at Ravenna, with an overall pattern of basket-work

[143] Kautzsch, no. 536, pl. 33.

[144] Kautzsch, no. 762, pl. 45; Ev. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*, Bergamo, 1922, p. 289, fig. 200 (above).

[145] G. Lefebvre, 'Epitaphes de moines alexandrins', *B.S.R.A. Alex.* No. 8, 1905, pp. 11–19.

[146] Ev. Breccia, 'D'un édifice d'époque chrétienne à el Dekhèla et l'emplacement du Enaton', *B.S.R.A. Alex.* No. 9, 1907, pp. 3–12.

[147] Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum, inv. nos. 3, 5, and 17013; Kautzsch, no. 632, pl. 38; E. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*, Bergamo, 1922, p. 289, fig. 200 (below). *B.S.R.A. Alex.*, No. 9, 1907, pp. 108–9; No. 10, pp. 232–3, fig. 34. Cairo, from Alexandria, J. Strzygowsky, *Koptische Kunst.*, no. 7352, fig. 105; Duthuit, *L'art copte*, pl. xlvii. c. Cairo, en-Nasir Mosque; Kautzsch, no. 630, pl. 38.

about a central rectangular panel of stylised lotus-ornament.[148] It is familiar from a number of widely scattered sites. Kautzsch lists Ravenna, Parenzo, Constantinople, Antigoni, Brussa, Nicaea, Pergamon, and Trebizond. To this list may be added at least three other North African sites: Kairouan, in the mosque of Sidi Okba, from Carthage; Tripoli, a damaged specimen now in the Castle grounds; and Barce in Cyrenaica. Not only is this form of capital clearly dated to the time of Justinian; but it is quite evident that in most cases at any rate it was either exported ready-made from a common centre, which is usually assumed to have been the imperial quarries of Proconnesus, or it was completed locally by workmen trained in a common central tradition. The fact that in Egypt these imported examples have been found only in Alexandria acquires an added significance when we recall that it was from this, and from related metropolitan Justinian forms of capital, that several of the most distinctive members of the later Coptic repertory were derived.[149] It looks very much as if, despite a divergence of style and of detailed treatment that was sufficiently marked to maintain its individuality unimpaired, it was nevertheless to Alexandria that Coptic Egypt looked for contact with the outer world.

The same relationship emerges from the study of what was one of the commoner, and certainly one of the more distinctive, of the sculptural motifs employed at Abu Mîna and in the region of Alexandria. This is the equal-armed cross within a wreath bound with short curly ribbons (see Pls. IX and X). Whether or not it is found elsewhere in precisely this form, it is hard to say. Certainly its appearance on capitals that are normally regarded as imports from abroad (e.g. the well-known capital from Ahnâs in the Cairo Museum, listed below) suggests that it *ought* to be found elsewhere; indeed, if not, it will be necessary to reconsider the accepted views as to the source of these capitals, and to examine in greater detail the possibility that they were made, or completed, locally. In any case, it is certainly found in the area of Alexandria in such large numbers relative to the amount of surviving material, that it may rightly be regarded as a peculiarly Alexandrian motif. The following list is doubtless incomplete, but it gives at any rate a fair view of the relative incidence.

Abu Mîna: present location? Marble capital, akin to that from Ahnâs (see below), with a wreathed cross on the abacus. Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, pl. 68. 5; cf. (but without the wreathed cross), pl. 68. 7, now in Frankfurt (presumably = Kautzsch, no. 79, pl. 6). Kaufmann, pl. 72. 3, illustrates either another similar capital or another face of the same capital.

: present location? Marble capital, similar to the above but less deeply cut; wreathed cross on abacus. Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, pl. 70. 2.

: in the Greco-Roman Museum, Alexandria, inv. no. 17008. Incomplete Corinthian capital with wreathed cross on the abacus (Pl. X, 4).

: present location? Colonnette-capital with acanthus leaves at angles and wreathed cross in the centre of one face. Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, pl. 69. 1.

: present location? Colonnette-capital, plain save for a wreathed cross with up-swept ribbons in the centre of each face. Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, pl. 69. 2.

: present location? Colonnette-capital, with rudimentary acanthus-leaves at the angles and wreathed cross in the centre of one face. The cross has a hooked P terminal to the upper arm. Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, pl. 69. 3.

[148] W. F. Volbach, 'Intorno ai capitelli a foglia di loto in S. Vitale a Ravenna', *Felix Ravenna*, n.s. fasc. II, 1934, pp. 124–9.

[149] Kautzsch, pp. 232–4; Kitzinger, p. 190. Strzygowsky's tacit assumption that in Egypt these forms could precede the Byzantine prototypes will not bear examination; see O. Wulff, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* XIII, 1904, p. 564 ff.

: in the Greco-Roman Museum, Alexandria, inv. no. 17444. Marble pilaster capital with central wreathed cross (Pl. X, 1). Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, fig. 36.

: *in situ*. Impost-block of limestone, plain save for wreathed cross on each of the four faces (Pl. X, 3).Kaufmann, *Menasstadt*, fig. 31.

: *in situ*, now in crypt. Fragments of a heavy marble impost-block (?) with wreathed cross on one face.

Ahnâs. In the Cairo Museum, inv. no. 7350. Imported Corinthian capital of Greek marble, one of a set of at least six, five of which were still to be seen in the church at Ahnâs in 1902. On the four sides of the abacus are an eagle, a wreathed cross, a formal spray, and a twined boss. J. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst* (*Catal. général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, vol. xii), Vienna, 1904, pp. 75–6, fig. 102–3. Kautzsch, no. 81, pl. 6.

Alexandria: rue Sidi Abu Dardâ. In the Greco-Roman Museum, Alexandria, inv. no. 11901. A white marble lintel or ornamental cornice-moulding with a wreathed cross against a shallow projecting bracket (Pl. X, 5).

: rue Sidi Abu Dardâ. In the Greco-Roman Museum, Alexandria, inv. no. 11791. A pair of Ionic impost-capitals in local stone, with a wreathed cross on the impost-block. Kautzsch, no. 536, pl. 33. See p. 65.

: provenance uncertain. In the Greco-Roman Museum, Alexandria. Bracket of white local marble, the projecting architrave-element of an engaged order, with a wreathed cross on one face.

: Agnew catacomb. Incised slab with inscription of the fifth or sixth century. H. C. Agnew, *Archaeologia*, XXVIII, 1840, p. 152 ff., pl. XIV. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. *Alexandrie* fig. 292.

: Hagar-Nawatieh, near the canal at Ramleh. Greco-Roman Museum, Alexandria, inv. no. 14158. Marble stele (m. 1·64 × 0·70 × 0·67) with metrical inscription recording the clearance of the canal by Alexander, probably the *praefectus augustalis* of 467. Above the inscription is a wreathed cross (Pl. X, 2). G. Lefebvre, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Egypte*, Cairo, 1907.

Aschmunein. In the Cairo Museum, inv. no. 7351. As no. 7350 from Ahnâs. Strzygowski, *op. cit.*

Cairo: Mosque el Mu'aijad. Capital similar to that from Ahnâs (see above). Kautzsch, no. 43, not illustrated, but described pp. 25–6.

: Mosque Sâlih Talâ'i. Capital similar to that from Ahnâs (see above). Kautzsch, no. 96, pl. 6.

: provenance uncertain. In the Coptic Museum. Engaged half-column divided into two zones: below, overall pattern of lozenges and rosettes; above, spiral fluting with superimposed wreathed cross.

: provenance uncertain. In the Coptic Museum. Small marble Corinthian capital with wreathed cross.

: from Fostat. In the Coptic Museum, inv. no. 4181. Small altar-shaped base with a wreathed cross on one face. The ribbons are unusually long and terminate in ivy-leaves. Marcus H. Simaika Pacha, *Guide Sommaire du Musée Copte*, Cairo, 1937, pl. xlii.

: found re-used in the sub-structures of the Nilometer at Rodah, and believed to come originally from Heliopolis. A broad, shallow pilaster-capital with a wreathed cross in the centre of the face. E. Drioton, *Les sculptures coptes du Nilomètre de Rodah*, Cairo, 1942, pp. 88–91, no. 19.

: in the church of el-Moallâqa, Old Cairo. Marble ambon-panel, re-used in the later medieval ambon, with a wreathed cross beneath a shell-headed canopy.

El-Dekhêla: from the presumed site of the monastery at Ennaton. In the Greco-Roman Museum, Alexandria. Small pilaster-capital with wreathed cross on one face. The ribbons in this case are omitted; but in all other respects cf. Saqqara, below. *B.S.R.A.Alex.*, No. 9, 1907, pp. 3–12, fig. 4.

Faiyûm. In the Cairo Museum, no. 8506. Inscribed Greek stele with wreathed cross. W. E. Crum, *Coptic Monuments* (*Catal. général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée de Caire, vol. IV*), Cairo, 1902, pl. XIX.

Rosetta. In the Greco-Roman Museum, Alexandria, inv. no. 22234. Re-used Ptolemaic lintel of black marble, re-carved with three wreathed crosses (Pl. IX, 6).

Saqqara: from the monastery of Apa Jeremias. Pilaster-capital, almost identical with that from el-Dekhêla. J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* IV, 1912, pl. XXXV. I.

It will be seen that outside the immediate neighbourhood of Alexandria the motif is found, in the first place, on a group of imported capitals (Ahnâs, Aschmunein, the mosques of Cairo) which are intruders to the local pre-Coptic and Coptic series. But it is

found also sporadically on objects of local workmanship, sometimes relatively unaltered (half-column and capital in the Coptic Museum, ambon-panel in the church of el-Moallâqa, colonnette-capital at Saqqara), more often modified to suit local taste. An interesting example of such modification is a funeral stele in the Coptic Museum, in which the equal-armed cross is replaced by the ankh-cross.[150] More often the motif is simplified by the omission of the ribbons, as in the large series of Middle and Upper Egyptian funeral stelae with plain wreathed crosses. A derivation from the Alexandrian ribboned form seems clear from the existence of such examples as no. 8443 (Greek stela from the Faiyûm, listed above). The ribbons first degenerate into looped dots in the lower angles, and these dots are then treated as purely decorative devices, applicable to all four angles or even to the two upper angles only. In other words, the study of this motif shows that Coptic sculptors were familiar with, and drew upon, the resources of contemporary Alexandria; but that, while they sometimes reproduced their models unaltered, more often these underwent a more or less radical transformation to accord with Coptic capabilities and standards of taste.

In the final section of his article Kitzinger discusses the question whether the sculptural evolution represented at Oxyrhyncus, at Ahnâs, and at Bawît and Saqqara, can be regarded as typical of the entire development of Egyptian art during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, or whether it applies exclusively to the more popular spheres of the hinterland as distinct from Alexandria itself which, according to one theory, remained the centre of a living and cultivated Hellenistic tradition throughout the Christian period in Egypt.[151] In a reasoned rejection of the latter view, Kitzinger remarks that purely geographical arguments are not conclusive; for while it is true that all the principal groups of Coptic sculpture discussed lie in the Nile Valley south of Cairo, there is no comparable body of material from the soil of Alexandria itself with which these may be compared or contrasted. The largest surviving body of Christian sculpture available for comparison is the series of capitals from Abu Mîna and from the mosques of Cairo; and these, he maintains, are international in character, and have no more connexion with Alexandria than they have, for example, with Salona, Greece, or Ephesus. In other words, the distinction that can be drawn is valid only in terms of a local and of an official art, not of the arts of two geographical entities, the hinterland and Alexandria; and of the two it is the sculpture of the Coptic Churches that is the more deeply rooted in the Hellenistic art of Egypt.

It is, however, on the evidence of Early Christian ivories, rather than on sculpture, that the theory of a survival of Hellenism in Alexandria is based.[152] There are many students who maintain that a great deal of the finest surviving East Roman ivory-carving of the fifth and sixth centuries, outstanding among them being the Throne of Maximian at Ravenna, are the work of craftsmen working in Alexandria, or at any rate working in the closest contact with Alexandria. Kitzinger does not discuss any of the arguments, primarily iconographic, which are advanced in support of this view. In discussing the character of the sculpture, the Egyptian origin of these ivories must, he maintains, be regarded rather as the object of the whole enquiry than as an argument in favour of one

[150] Marcus H. Simaika Pacha, *Guide Sommaire du Musée Copte*, Cairo, 1937, p. 16, no. 32, pl. xliii.

[151] Kitzinger, pp. 210–15.

[152] For a concise, up-to-date exposition of this view, with earlier bibliography, see C. R. Morey, *Early Christian Art*, Princeton, 1942, pp. 89–97.

or the other theory. We have, instead, to look for independent evidence of the survival of a classical tradition in Egypt's fifth- and sixth-century sculpture; and this we do, in fact, find in a few isolated but important works which afford definite evidence of its persistence.

One such work is the carved wooden door from the church of St. Barbara in Old Cairo. It has been published as a fourth-century work;[153] but a comparison with the ivory carvings, to which it is closely related, shows very clearly that it can hardly be earlier than the close of the fifth century. The vine-scrolls, which have nothing whatever to do with Coptic sculptural tradition, recall those of the Throne of Maximian; while the pairs of flying angels, upholding a bust within a ribboned wreath, bear a striking resemblance to those on the celebrated Barberini Diptych in the Louvre. The same relationship emerges from the study of a second work, a limestone pilaster from Bawît, now in the Louvre.[154] It is carved on one face with a geometric ornament of hexagons, on a second with a delicate medallion vine-scroll with birds and a chalice, which closely resembles the scrolls on the Throne of Maximian. To clinch the relationship, at the top of either face of the pilaster there stands a figure of an angel, which unmistakably echoes the archangel of the celebrated Archangel Diptych in the British Museum. In other words, there were working in Egypt at the turn of the fifth and sixth centuries, the approximate date of the ivories in question, sculptors who followed the classical manner of the ivory-carvers rather than the Coptic style of Ahnâs.

Are we entitled to assume that the work of these sculptors represents a surviving Hellenistic tradition established in Alexandria? Kitzinger maintains that we are not. In the sculpture of Oxyrhyncus he recognises a typically late-antique style, basically international but with certain well-marked local peculiarities. Members of the same late-antique family can be seen in Syria, Asia Minor, Dalmatia, and North Africa. The art of Oxyrhyncus is provincial indeed; but it reflects tendencies widespread in the late-antique Mediterranean world; and the source from which it was immediately derived can hardly be other than contemporary Alexandria. By contrast, it cannot be shown that the St. Barbara doors or the Bawît pilaster have any forerunners in Egypt; it is they therefore, and not the Coptic sculptures, which represent an element foreign to the Egyptian tradition. This element is not an Alexandrian style at all, but a court style, an essential characteristic of which is that it transcended provincial boundaries. 'The basket capitals found at Bawît and Saqqara are an obvious example of Byzantine court art influencing Egypt in the sixth century. The style of the St. Barbara door and of the Paris (i.e. Bawît) pilaster must be explained in a similar way. We cannot call it an Alexandrian style. The artists who did such work in Egypt in the sixth century must have been trained in the court atmosphere of Byzantium. If we want to see what had by that time happened to Egypt's own tradition of Hellenistic art, we must not look at these few and isolated monuments, but at the genuinely Coptic sculptures in the monasteries of the Nile Valley.[155]

It is not within the scope of the present article to examine in any greater detail than does Kitzinger, the arguments which have been advanced for an attribution to Alex-

[153] A. Patricolo and U. Monneret de Villard, *La chiesa di Santa Barbara al Vecchio Cairo*, Firenze, 1922. Illustrated by Kitzinger, pl. lxxvi, 1; and by K. A. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, II, 1940, fig. 483.

[154] Kitzinger, pl. lxxvii, 1.

[155] Kitzinger, p. 215.

andrian craftsmen of such ivories as the Throne of Maximian or the British Museum Archangel Diptych. In general terms, it may be remarked that the iconographic method undoubtedly has its pitfalls, and the validity of its conclusions must rest ultimately upon a hard core of independently established fact: but that, so far as the present writer is aware, no critic has attempted to dispose in detail of the elaborate structure of iconographic argument upon which this thesis is based; nor is sufficient regard always paid to the very considerable body of independent evidence by which it can be shown to be linked to such known Egyptian antiquities as the frescoes of the Alexandrian catacombs and of the Coptic monasteries or to the peculiarly Egyptian literary versions of the familiar bible stories.[156] It may well be that not all the ivories claimed as Alexandrian were made in Alexandria itself; it is arguable, for example, that the Throne of Maximian was made in Constantinople by Alexandrian craftsmen working under imperial patronage. But even if this were so, it would still seem to be necessary to postulate a continuous tradition in Alexandria itself to account for the continued and consistent employment of seemingly Egyptian elements in this hypothetical, eclectic, court school.

It is, however, with the evidence afforded by sculpture in wood and stone that we are directly concerned; and here there are two important questions of interpretation and of terminology on which it may be suggested that Kitzinger's conclusions require modification. In the first place we have seen that, while admitting the existence in Egypt of a considerable body of Early Christian sculpture, mainly in the form of capitals, which is quite distinct from the Coptic work of the fifth and sixth centuries, he maintains that this sculpture has no special connexion with Alexandria or with any Egyptian Hellenistic tradition, but belongs to an international, court-inspired art, the products of which found their way indiscriminately all over the Eastern Mediterranean world. This view surely misinterprets both the range and the character of this non-Coptic Egyptian Early Christian sculpture. Antiquity regarded the sanctuary of St. Menas as an Alexandrian shrine; and we have seen that the remains from the soil of Alexandria itself and from the Maryût confirm this evaluation. The body of material is not large; but it is consistent, and quite large enough to show us something of the character of fifth- and sixth-century Alexandrian sculpture and at the same time to point the absence of any trace of contemporary Coptic work. There are a few fragments from Abu Mîna itself, which indicate contact with Coptic ideas. But these lack precisely those mannerisms which are most typical of actual Coptic work and so serve only to underline the fundamental divergence of the two styles (see p. 64).

To describe the sculpture of Oxyrhyncus, of Ahnâs, and of Bawît and Saqqara as in any sense representative of the whole of Egypt is, then, to invite confusion. That its inspiration came in no small degree from Alexandria seems to be demonstrated. But it does not necessarily follow that it was a mere provincial dialect, or that in it we can identify, in rude but recognisable form, the art of Alexandria itself. The capacity of the Coptic artist to select and to transmute borrowed forms in terms of his own vigorous and strongly individual tastes and conventions is well demonstrated in the sixth century in the case of several familiar Justinian forms of capital. This capacity was not new. We see it, for example, in wall-paintings of the earlier Empire from the Faiyûm and elsewhere. It was the centuries-old reaction of the native Egyptian to the alien culture of the

[156] Of particular interest in the present context are the representations of the Menas cycle cited on p. 46.

Delta; and while it may be true to describe the sculpture of Oxyrhyncus and of Ahnâs as a member of a large and widely scattered late-antique family, the element which it possesses in common with other late-antique sculptural styles can be amply explained in terms of like reaction under like conditions to a common source of inspiration: it is not necessary to postulate any closer or more immediate connexion.

The architectural remains tell the same story. At least one feature represented in later Coptic architecture, the use of columnar exedrae in the narthex, can be shown to be derived from Abu Mîna; and it may be that others, such as the *triconchos* chancel, which it shared with Early Christian architecture outside Egypt,[157] found their way into Coptic architecture by way of the vanished churches of Alexandria. But if Abu Mîna be rightly regarded as a representative Alexandrian church, it is abundantly clear from the evidence discussed above in section D (pp. 51–60) that the architecture of Alexandria and of Coptic Egypt followed sharply divergent paths, and that, as in the case of sculpture, there were in Egypt two related but distinct schools of Early Christian architecture.

This brings us to our second question of interpretation and of terminology. Can the Alexandrian art of the fifth and sixth centuries properly be called international? By comparison with that of Coptic Egypt it was undoubtedly cosmopolitan in its connexions; but it is an over-simplification of a complex picture to describe it as 'international', unless the use of that term be very clearly understood and qualified. It is true that individual local schools, and in the present instance the conservative Hellenism of Alexandria, have at times been allowed to bulk larger in the history of Early Christian art than the known facts warrant. The extreme reaction against this excessive localisation is a bald and rather characterless internationalism, in which local traditions are recognised as little more than unimportant variants of the central melody. It is surely truer to regard them as the themes of a great contrapuntal fugue. Each was coloured and modified by its relation to the others: but each in turn contributed its unique and individual quota to the harmonic whole. The capitals of Abu Mîna and of the mosques of Cairo belong to familiar types, representatives of which are scattered throughout the contemporary Christian world. Many of them, however, were not only made in Alexandria but reveal characteristics which appear to be peculiar to Egypt. The individual architectural features of Abu Mîna, too, can without exception be paralleled outside Egypt. But the resultant whole is unique and makes it very clear that the architecture of Alexandria was far from being a colourless copy of models developed elsewhere. The early appearance of such features as the spherical-triangular pendentive and the squinch in this light acquires added significance. Indeed the importance of Abu Mîna lies very largely in the evidence which it affords of the continued individuality of Alexandria as a centre of the arts. It does not tell us as much as we should like to know: still less does it afford any direct evidence as to the source of the disputed ivories. It does, however, help to clear the ground, by putting the sculpture of Coptic Egypt into its true perspective; and it does suggest that further research at Abu Mîna itself and in the many Christian sites of the Maryût may yet throw fresh light on one of the fundamental outstanding problems of late antique research, the contribution of Alexandria to the *Koine* of Early Christian art and archaeology.

J. B. WARD PERKINS

[157] U. Monneret de Villard, *Les couvents près de Sohag*, Milan, 1925, chapter III.

THE CHURCH OF SAN SALVATORE AT SPOLETO: SOME STRUCTURAL NOTES

THE church of San Salvatore, on the outskirts of Spoleto, is a monument as familiar as it is puzzling. Together with the closely related Clitumnus temple, 10 km. distant between Spoleto and Trevi, it has been the subject of at least one monograph and of numerous articles, and it figures in all the standard works on late antique and early medieval art in Italy. It first appears in history in a document of 815, confirming to the abbey of Farfa certain possessions, including *monasterium sancti Salvatoris situm prope eandem civitatem* (i.e. Spoleto).[1] The majority of writers have regarded both it and the Clitumnus Temple as the product of a late antique, classicising revival, and have assigned them to dates ranging from the late fourth to the sixth centuries. Recently Deichmann has advanced the novel, but attractive, suggestion that they belong rather to the latter part of the eighth century, and are the work of the Dukes of Spoleto, produced under Carolingian domination and under strong Carolingian artistic influence.[2]

With the exception of certain obvious major repairs effected during the Middle Ages as a result of fire or earthquake, and of other minor modifications noted by individual authors, San Salvatore has always been regarded as substantially a structural unity. This is the more surprising in that there are a number of features, notably in the presbytery, which on close inspection strongly suggest a more complex origin. In December 1946 the relaying of the floor in the presbytery and in parts of the nave offered an occasion to throw fresh light on this point. Through the courtesy and with the generous help of Prof. A. Bertini-Calosso, Superintendent of Monuments and Galleries for Umbria, Prof. E. Josi, Dr. Erik Sjöqvist, Director of the Swedish Institute of Classical Studies in Rome, and the writer were enabled to spend three days on the site, and to make some modest trial excavations below the present floor-level. The object of these was to establish, by an examination of the foundations, whether or not the building was planned at the outset in the form in which, substantially, it now stands. A far more extensive examination of the structure would have been required to make any significant contribution to the disputed questions of art-historical attribution and chronology. These are in any case already in the able hands of Prof. Mario Salmi, to whom the results of the researches, which form the subject of this note, have already been communicated. The present report is strictly limited therefore to the immediate results of the inquiries undertaken in 1946.

The sections reproduced in Figures 2–6 are the work of Mr. N. I. Rosén, at the time a member of the Swedish Institute. They have been prepared for publication by Mr. Richard Fraser, Rome Scholar in Architecture at the British School, who has also prepared the plans. Our thanks are due for the courteous help given by Prof. G.

[1] J. Mabillon, *Annales ordinis S. Benedicti*, II, lib. 28, Lucca, 1739, p. 392.

[2] See bibliography p. 73. Under Charles the Great, Spoleto remained a duchy, under a Lombard duke, Hildebrand. His successor was a French count, Winiges, who ruled until 824; see Deichmann, *op. cit.* p. 148.

Panetti, Honorary Inspector of Monuments for Spoleto; and to Messrs H. Torp and E. Fischer, associate members of the Swedish Institute, who gave agile assistance in the work of excavation and photography. It was hoped that this report might have come from the pen of the last-named; but circumstance has prevented this, and he has kindly permitted the use of the photos reproduced on Plate XV, 2–4. Plates XII, 2, XV, 1 and XVII, 1 and 2, are reproduced by courtesy of the Ministry of Public Instruction (Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale).

A full bibliography down to 1912 will be found in W. Hoppenstedt, *Die Basilika S. Salvatore bei Spoleto und der Clitunnotempel*, Halle, 1912, pp. 52–4; and from 1912 to 1939 in C. Pietrangeli, *Spoletium* (Italia Romana: municipi e colonie, s. I, no. 1), Rome, 1939, pp. 75–6. To these must be added an important recent article by F. W. Deichmann, 'Die Entstehungszeit von Salvatorkirche und Clitumnus-tempel bei Spoleto,' *Römische Mitteilungen*, 58, 1943, pp. 106–48. As the first at any rate of these works is not readily accessible, the following list gives a few of the more important publications:

G. B. de Rossi, *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, II, 2, 1871, pp. 131–9.

H. Grisar, *Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, I, 1895, pp. 127–146.

G. Sordini, *Bollettino della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria*, XII, 3, 1907, pp. 12–15; ibid., XIII, 2–3, pp. 8–9.

M. Salmi, *Dedalo*, II, 1922, pp. 628–45.

P. Toesca, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana: il medioevo*, Torino, 1927, pp. 93–7, 135–6.

A. Haseloff, *Pre-Romanesque Sculpture in Italy*, Firenze, 1930, pp. 25–7, pls. 23–4 (S. Salvatore) and 25–7 (Clitumnus Temple).

U. Tarchi, *L'arte nell'Umbria*, vol. II, *L'arte cristiano-romanica*, Milan, 1937, pls. I–XI (Clitumnus Temple) and XIV–XXV (S. Salvatore).

The church of San Salvatore has been so often described and illustrated that a brief summary of the main features will be sufficient in the present context. Despite the successive ravages of earthquake, fire, neglect, and restoration,[3] it is still possible to determine, with some degree of certainty, the general lines of the structure, as it appeared at the time of its maximum development. It is a three-aisled basilica, oriented approximately east–west, with a separate presbytery, at a slightly higher level than the nave and divided from it by a triumphal arch. The lateral aisles run right through; but they are subdivided by transverse arches on the line of the triumphal arch, so as to form what, on plan at any rate, may be described as a contained transept. There is a lofty central apse; and flanking it two projecting, rectangular chapels, opening off the lateral aisles and each in its turn ending in a small projecting apse.

The elaborate façade is not of immediate relevance to the present report; and it is in any case too well known to require detailed description.[4] Of the original lateral colonnades of the nave, the responds at either end and the plinths of the eight intermediate columns alone survive. At some later date, probably after an earthquake,

[3] An idea of the state to which the building had been reduced by the nineteenth century can be had from the admirable plans and sections executed by Montiroli in 1871, now preserved in the Municipal Picture-gallery at Spoleto (Anderson photos 5923–6). The restoration of the church to its present form was begun by Sordini in 1906.

[4] For a restored drawing of the façade in its original form, see Tarchi, *op. cit.*, pl. XV. The restoration is reasonably certain.

the architrave was replaced by an arcade of round-headed arches, built, in part, of re-used material; and this arcade was itself later built up and suppressed. The original order incorporated a curious assortment of elements: Attic bases, columns facetted at the base and fluted above; Doric capitals, architrave and frieze; marble Corinthian cornice; and above this traces of a blind order in stucco over a core of rough masonry, identical with that above the colonnades of the presbytery (Pl. XV, 1).

The presbytery is better preserved. At the same time as the nave was rebuilt, with lateral arcades replacing the original architraves, two rough columns were inserted to support weak points in the presbytery colonnades. Otherwise the structure presents substantially the same appearance as it did in antiquity (Pl. XII, 2). The dome above is octagonal and

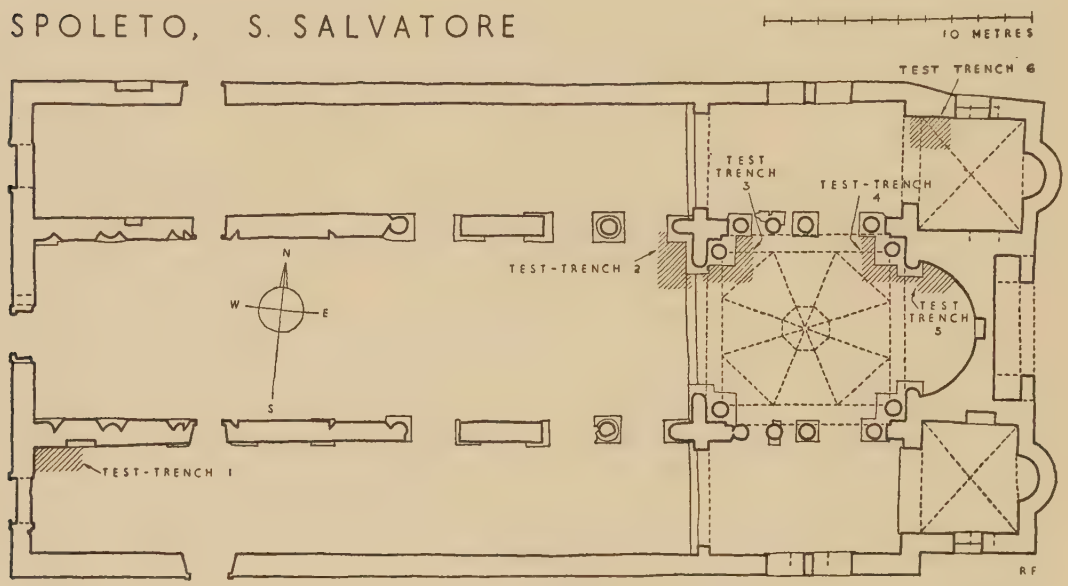


FIG. 1.

rests on flat, triangular pendentives. These in turn spring at each angle from a curious pedestal-like feature, set above the cornice of the angle order. It should be noted that, while the architectural scheme, with lofty half-columns flanking the triumphal arch and the apse and linked each to the adjacent angle column, inevitably tends to concentrate attention on the major axis, the presbytery is in fact almost square and is vaulted symmetrically about both axes.

The two lateral chapels, of S. Isidoro on the north and S. Agostino on the south,[5] are cross-vaulted, above a delicate terra-cotta cornice. The plan, with its untidy projection beyond the central apse, is strongly suggestive of an afterthought. Both chapels are well askew to the main axis of the building; and the displacement of the outer walls relative to the outer walls of the presbytery aisles is a feature with no

[5] The names of these chapels appear on Montiroli's plan. Their dedications, like those of the church itself, may well have changed several times since antiquity. They are here retained for convenience.

apparent structural meaning, that contrasts strangely with the careful symmetry of the rest of the structure.

It will be seen that the plan contains a number of unusual elements. For a proper appraisal of their significance, it is essential to establish whether all of these belong to the original structure, or whether some may be the result of later modification. In particular the presbytery, with its elaborately supported dome, and the east end, with its projecting side-chapels, suggest the possibility of successive phases of building activity. With a view to establishing these doubtful points, if possible, upon an objective basis, six test-trenches were dug, two in the nave and four in the presbytery. The results of these excavations are summarised in the paragraphs which follow.

Test-trench 1, at the W end of the S aisle, in the angle between the inner face of the façade and the S nave colonnade.

The masonry of the façade and of the respond of the colonnade are both preserved *in situ* at this point, though superficially much battered. The half-column of the respond consists alternately of half-drums and of longer blocks tongued into the masonry of the wall, a technique repeated in all four nave responds. The ground at this point proved to be made up and much disturbed, with traces of burials to a depth of at least 80 cm. The natural slope of the ground, downwards from E to W, is such that, in contrast to the trenched footings of the presbytery and apse, the footings here were built free-standing. Façade and stylobate are of one build and certainly contemporary.

Test-trench 2, at the E end of the nave, in the angle between the triumphal arch and the N nave colonnade (Section A–B; Fig. 2).

The respond is preserved substantially intact and repeats the constructional formula of the SW nave respond. Of the wall and half-column which project S to carry the triumphal arch, a part of the wall-surface adjacent to the angle is alone ancient. The half-column itself, the plinth, and the steps up from the nave into the presbytery are all modern.

Excavation in the angle, a short distance below floor-level, revealed compact, undisturbed ground, into which were trenched roughly coursed, rubble and cement footings. The stylobate of the nave colonnade and the transverse footing which carry the triumphal arch are of one build and certainly contemporary. The latter is continuous across the nave.

Test-trench 3, in the NW angle of the presbytery, exposing the footings of the NW angle column supporting the dome (Sections A–B and C–D; Pl. XIII, 2; Figs. 2 and 3).

With the exception of the modern plinth and facing to the triumphal arch itself, the masonry of this angle appears to be substantially ancient. The angle column is raised on a massive, rectangular, limestone plinth, which rests in turn on a footing of irregular blocks, roughly trenched into the undisturbed clay subsoil. Plinth and footing are alike demonstrably secondary to the far more substantial foundation of the triumphal arch (Section A–B). The plinth must, on the other hand, already have been in position when the respond of the N presbytery colonnade was built in its present

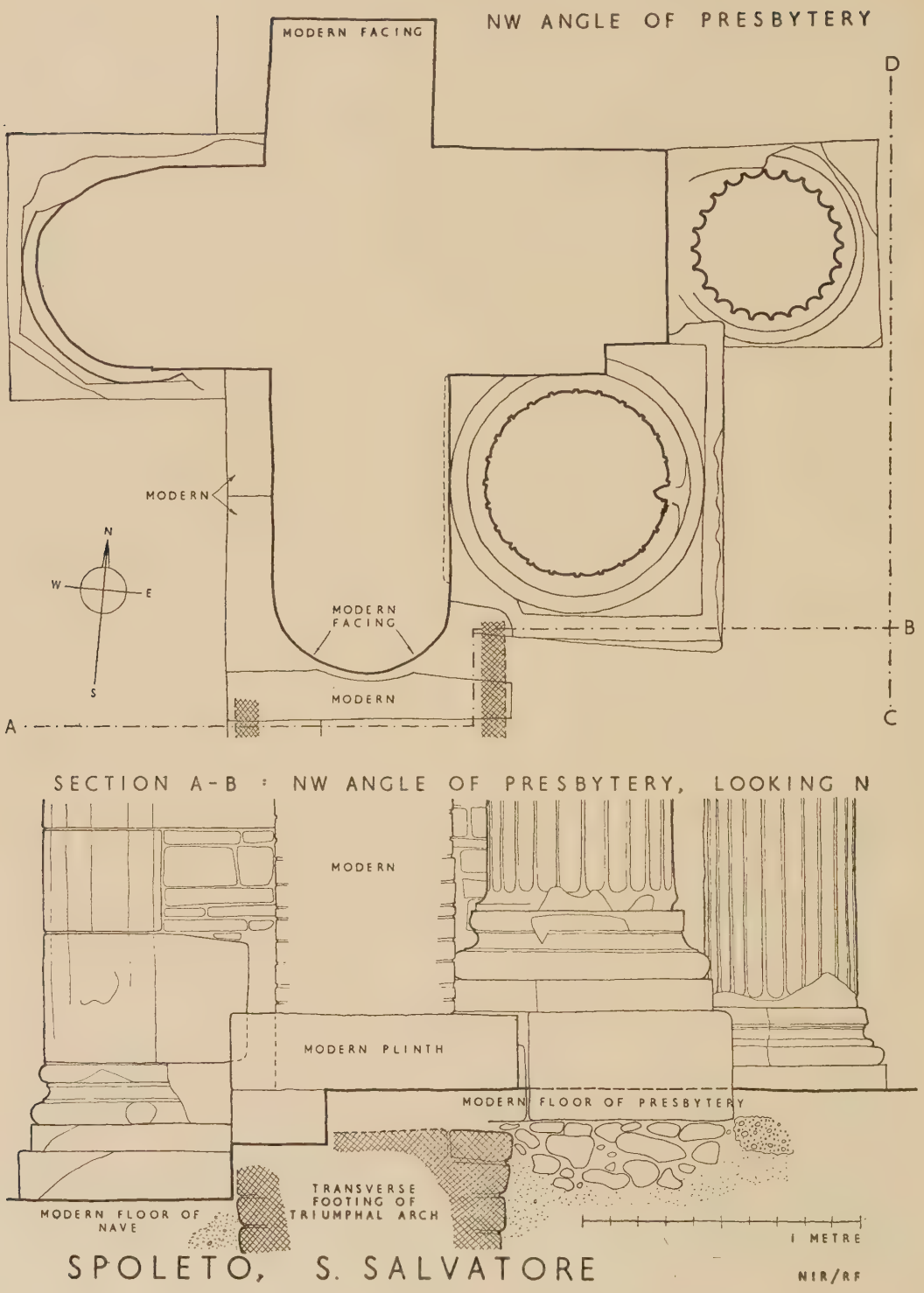

NW ANGLE OF PRESBYTERY
MODERN FACING
D
MODERN
N
W
E
S
MODERN FACING
B
MODERN
A
C
SECTION A-B : NW ANGLE OF PRESBYTERY, LOOKING N
MODERN
MODERN PLINTH
MODERN FLOOR OF PRESBYTERY
TRANSVERSE FOOTING OF TRIUMPHAL ARCH
MODERN FLOOR OF NAVE
1 METRE
SPOLETO, S. SALVATORE
NIR/RF

Fig. 2.

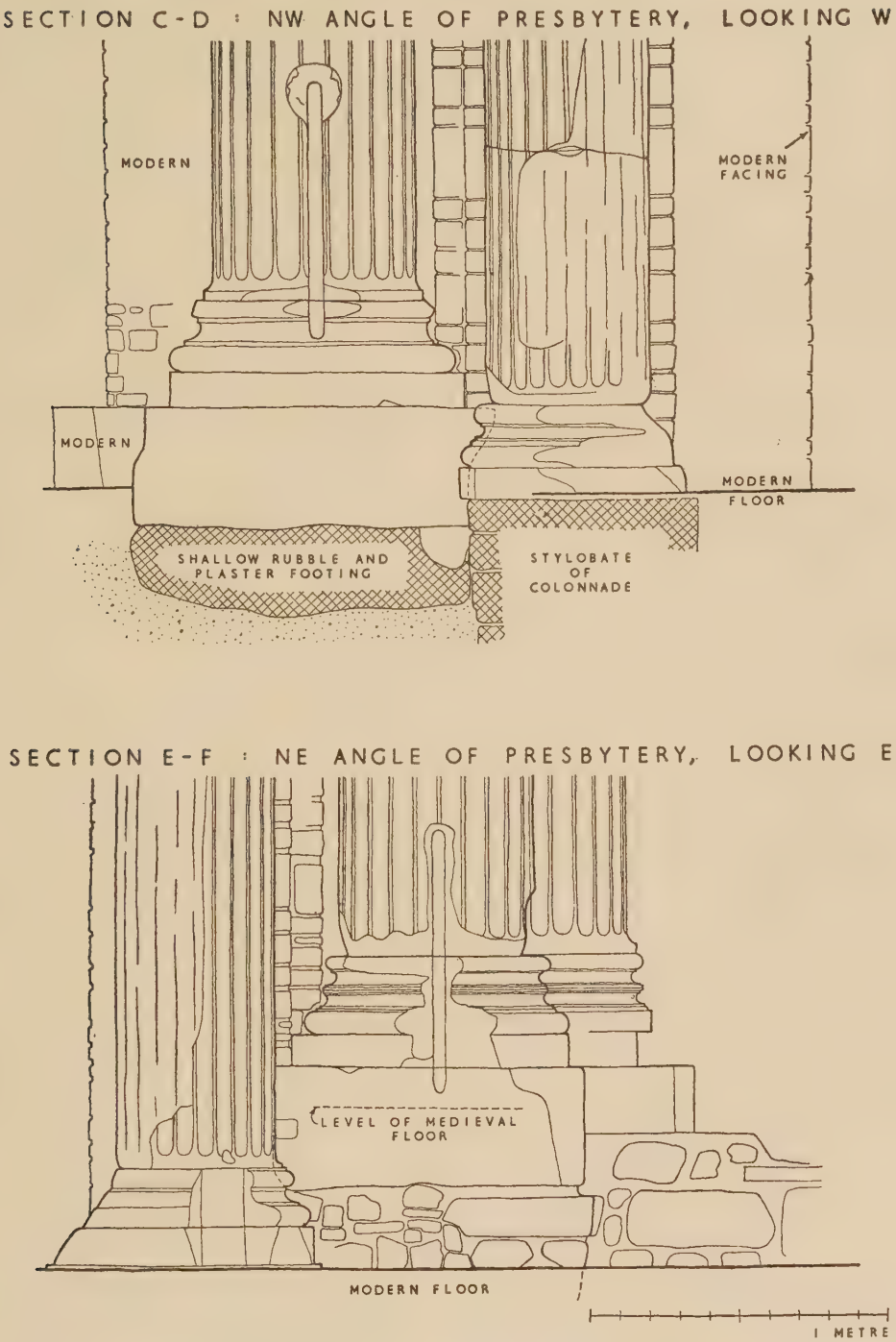

SECTION C-D : NW ANGLE OF PRESBYTERY, LOOKING W
MODERN
MODERN FACING
MODERN
MODERN FLOOR
SHALLOW RUBBLE AND PLASTER FOOTING
STYLOBATE OF COLONNADE
SECTION E-F : NE ANGLE OF PRESBYTERY, LOOKING E
LEVEL OF MEDIEVAL FLOOR
MODERN FLOOR
1 METRE
SPOLETO S. SALVATORE
NIR/RF

FIG. 3.

form; for the former, and the base of the column upon it, are both firmly locked into position by the masonry of the respond (Section C–D). Later again than the plinth of the angle column is a broad, shallow footing of plaster-rubble, running E and W between the NW and NE angle columns, parallel to, and trenched against, the stylobate of the N presbytery colonnade. The latter is identical in materials and build with the nave stylobate and the foundation of the triumphal arch. The plaster-rubble footing can be seen on Montiroli's plan. It is one of a pair, the other member of which, in the corresponding position on the S of the presbytery, appears in a photograph taken during the restoration of the presbytery earlier in the century.[6] Both are presumably to be connected with the late, longitudinal screens, the scars of which appear on each of the four angle columns.

Test-trench 4, in the NE angle of the presbytery, exposing the footings of the NE angle column supporting the dome (Sections E–F and G–H; Pls. XIII, 1 and XIV, 2; Figs. 3 and 4).

As in the NW angle, the angle column is raised on a massive limestone plinth, wedged into place with smaller blocks and resting on a rough rubble footing, trenched into the undisturbed clay subsoil. This footing is very shallow, and was certainly cut after the transverse foundation, which constitutes the chord of the apse, was already in position (Section G–H and Pl. XIV, 2). This latter foundation is identical in materials and build with the corresponding foundation of the triumphal arch and the stylobates of the lateral colonnades.

The plinth of the angle column overrides the base of the E column of the N presbytery colonnade in a manner which suggests that the latter may have been below floor-level when the angle column was inserted; and both the plinth and the base upon it are locked into position by the masonry of the colonnade respond. There is the clearly marked trace of a floor-level 14 cm. below the top of the plinth, (visible in Pl. XIV, 2), corresponding to the level of the fragment of medieval pavement in *opus sectile*,which survives in the middle of the presbytery just in front of the apse. Montiroli's plan shows that in 1871 more of this pavement survived. There are traces of a second floor-level also on the same plinth, about 10 cm. below the first.

Test-trench 5, in the N angle of the apse.

The purpose of this trench was to examine the relation between the foundations of the apse and the transverse N–S foundation, which constitutes the chord of the apse. The former were found to be surprisingly unsubstantial, consisting of loosely concreted rubble laid in a shallow trench dug into the compact, natural clay. The top of this trench is now exposed as much as 20 cm. in the centre of the apse, and can never have been far below floor-level. At the junction of the two foundations, those of the apse were certainly dug when the others were already in position; and it seems improbable that the original builders, the rest of whose foundations are so robust, should have been content with anything so flimsy. Theoretically, however, it could be argued that, in view of the sharp rise in ground-level towards the E, nothing more

[6] Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Neg. C.2065.

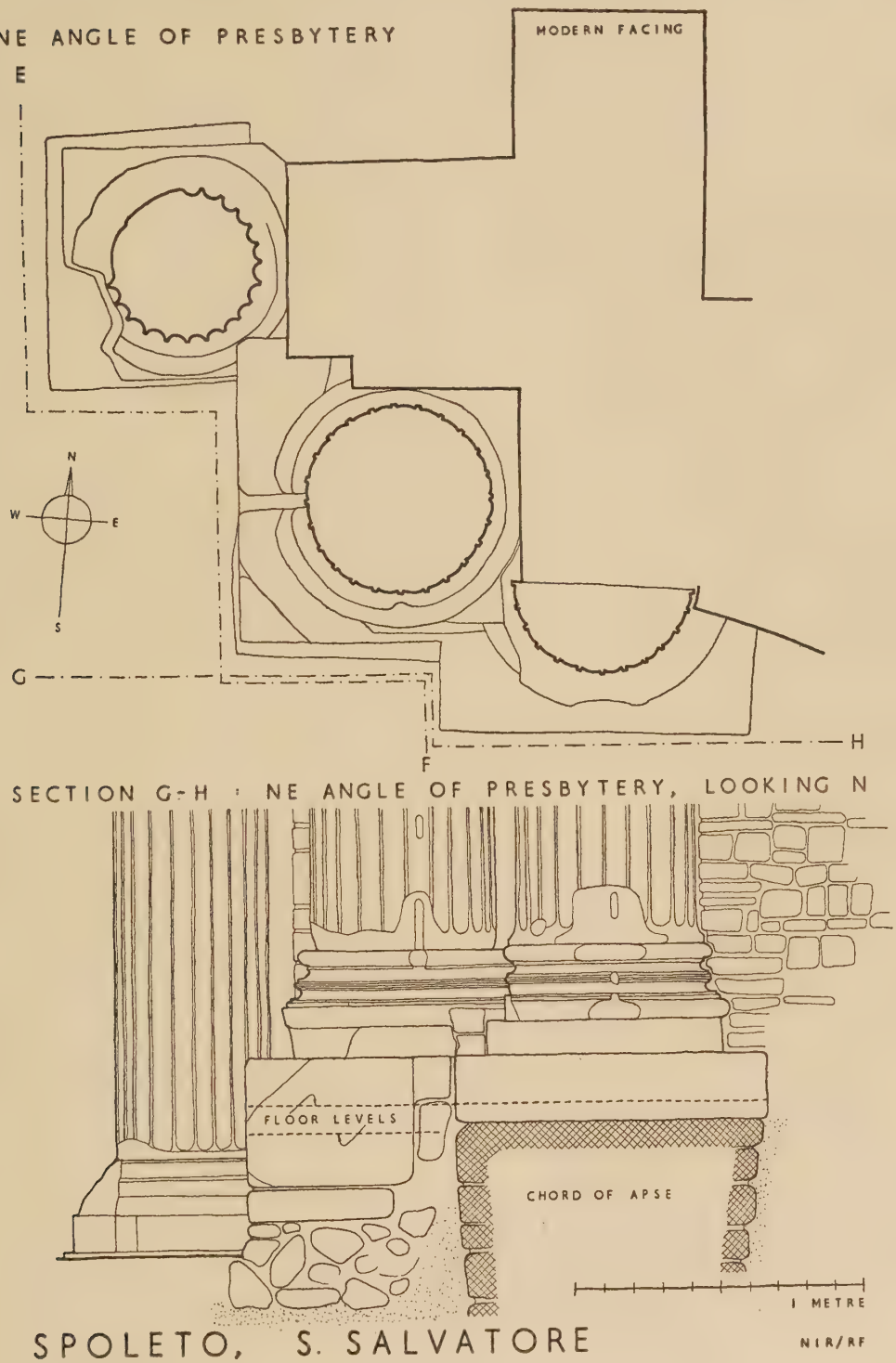

NE ANGLE OF PRESBYTERY
MODERN FACING
E
N
W
E
S
G
H
F
SECTION G-H : NE ANGLE OF PRESBYTERY, LOOKING N
FLOOR LEVELS
CHORD OF APSE
1 METRE
SPOLETO, S. SALVATORE
NIR/RF

FIG. 4.

was needed here; and that, while the structural relation is not in doubt, no chronological distinction is necessarily involved.

The same element of doubt holds good of the structures above ground. The two engaged half-columns, which flank the apse, are taken, together with their capitals and bases, from the same classical monument as the adjacent NE and SE angle columns of the presbytery. From the careful matching and levelling of the two pairs, it would appear that all four were incorporated into the structure at the same moment. Unfortunately, from an examination of the relation between the half-column and the masonry of the apse, it is not absolutely certain which of the two is structurally the earlier. Of the alternatives, by far the more probable is that the masonry of the apse was built up against the half-column and is, therefore, probably contemporary with it (Pl. XIV, 3, illustrating the corresponding junction on the S side); but the character of the junction does not absolutely preclude the careful cutting-back of the masonry of an existing apse to house an inserted half-column.

Test-trench 6, in the NW angle of the NE chapel (chapel of S. Isidoro).

Excavations at this point revealed the presence of a bone-vault, which has completely obscured all earlier traces. In the structure of the N wall, however, especially below floor-level, there are traces of a straight joint, marking the point at which the N wall of the chapel strikes off from the seemingly earlier E wall of the presbytery aisle. The attempt to confirm this, by examination of the footings at the corresponding points on the exterior, to the N and to the S, was baulked by the presence of modern, concrete, drainage gullies up against the walls.

The SE angle of the presbytery (Sections J–K, L–M, and N–O; Pl. XIV, 1 and 3; Figs. 5 and 6).

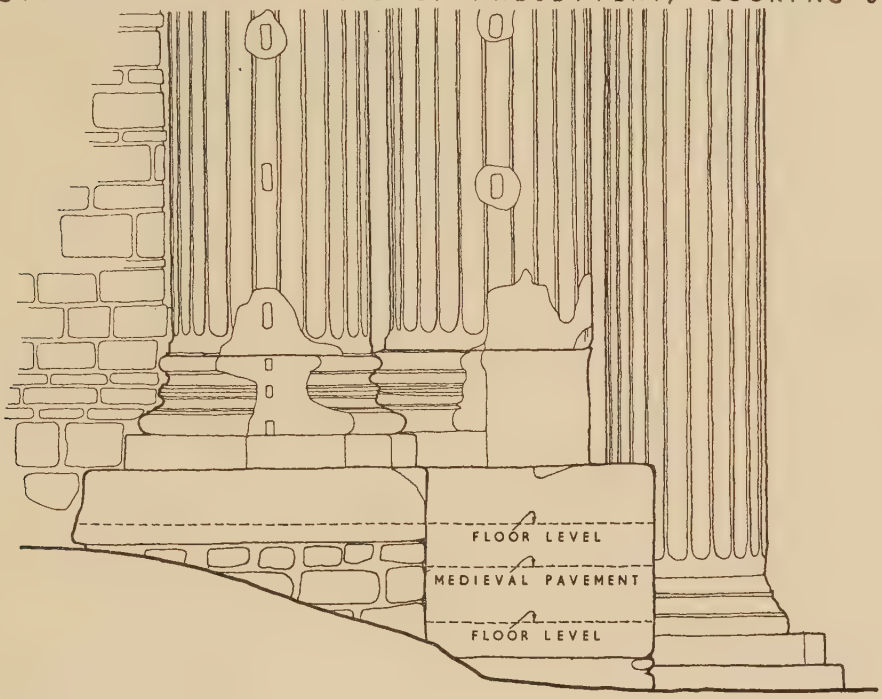
This was not trenched; but a considerable part of the footings is exposed above the present floor-level, and this confirms the results of trenching at the NW and NE angles. The plinth of the angle column overrides the base of the E column of the S presbytery colonnade; and it and the base upon it are in turn locked into place by the masonry of the colonnade respond. In this case there is a gap of 2–3 cm., as if the column had moved slightly since erection. The colonnade respond also overrides the base of the E column of the colonnade. The relation of the half-column flanking the apse to the transverse foundation and to the masonry of the apse itself corresponds exactly to that between the corresponding features on the N side.

Apart from minor patching, the only substantial restoration would seem to be the jamb of the arch leading into the SE chapel (chapel of S. Agostino). Traces of three floor-levels can be seen on the plinth of the angle column, 18, 32, and 50 cm., respectively, below the top (visible in Pl. XIV, 1). The middle one of these corresponds to the medieval, *opus sectile* pavement.

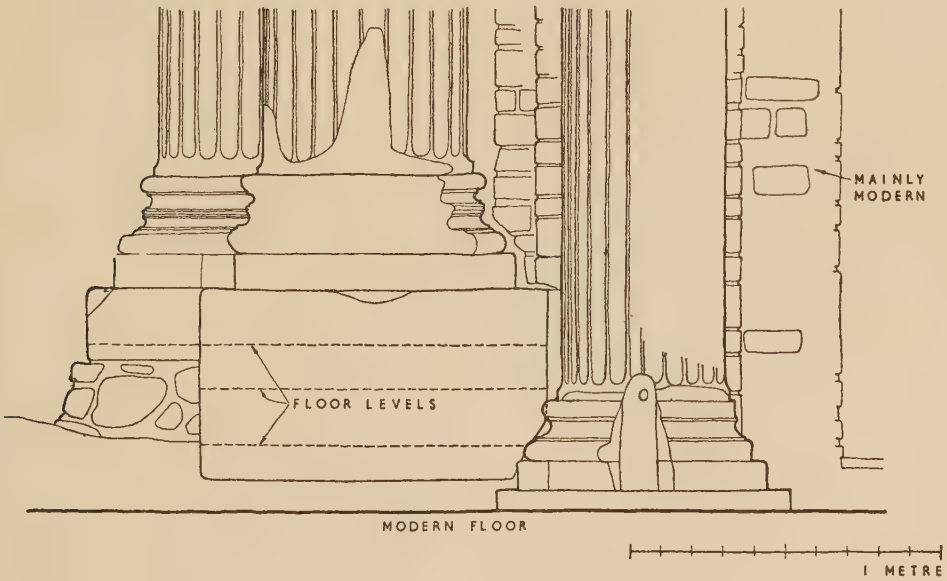
The results of these test-excavations are limited, but important. They may be summarised as follows:

(*a*) Of the foundations examined, only the stylobate of the nave and presbytery colonnades and the three transverse foundations, of the façade, of the triumphal

SECTION J-K : SE ANGLE OF PRESBYTERY, LOOKING S

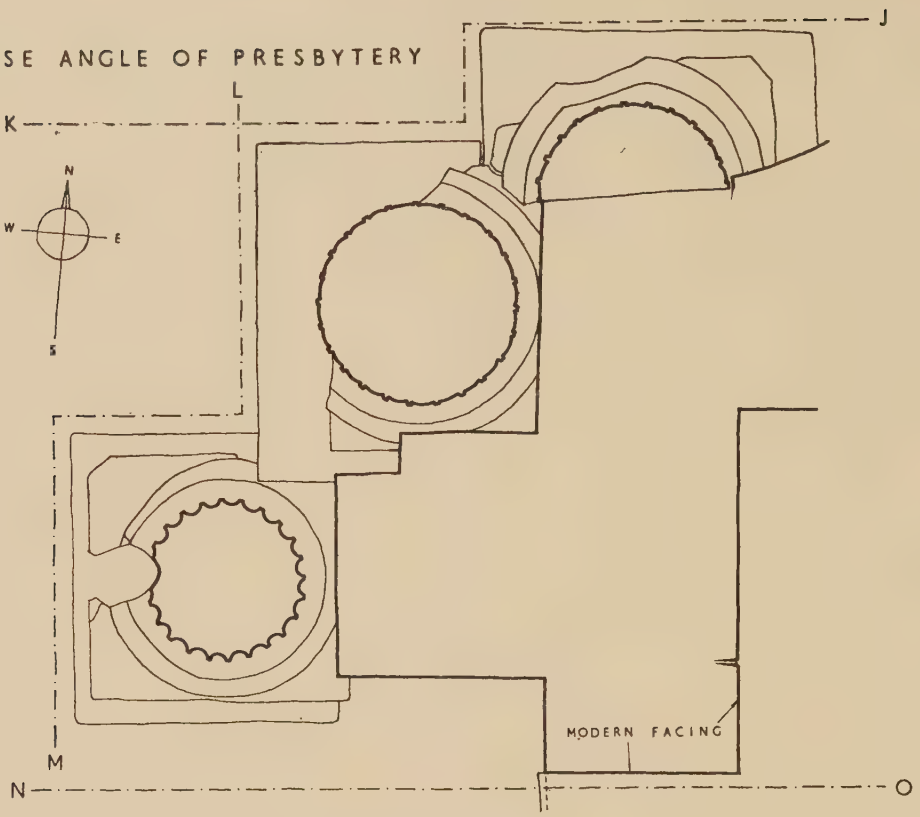


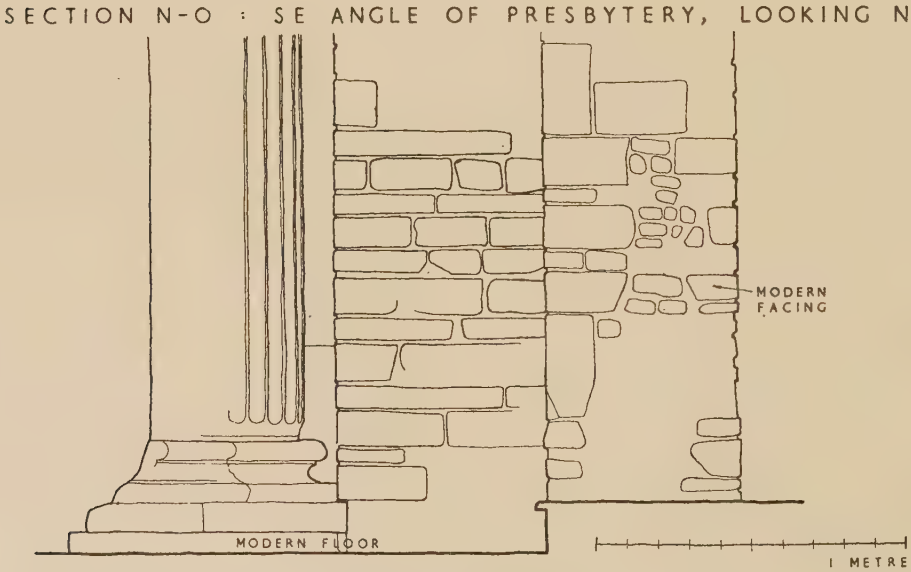
SECTION L-M : SE ANGLE OF PRESBYTERY, LOOKING E



SPOLETO, S. SALVATORE NIR/RF

FIG. 5.





SPOLETO, S. SALVATORE

NIR/RF

Fig. 6.

arch, and across the base of the apse respectively, belong certainly to the original structure. The footings of the angle columns are palpably a later insertion; and the relation between the masonry responds of the presbytery colonnades and the bases of the angle columns shows that these responds too, at anyrate in their present form, are a secondary feature. In other words the original presbytery must have been quite a simple square structure; the insertion of the angle columns and the substantial strengthening of the existing piers belongs to a later structural phase, to be connected no doubt with the substitution of the present dome in place of an original timber roof.

(*b*) The existing apse is structurally secondary to the original building. On balance the evidence strongly suggests that it was actually a later addition, contemporary with (or indeed later than) the insertion of the angle columns of the presbytery; but the evidence falls short of absolute proof. There is of course nothing whatever to show that there may not have been an earlier apse, on a slightly larger radius.

(*c*) The hypothesis, based primarily on the evidence of plan, that the two lateral east chapels of S. Isidoro and S. Agostino are secondary additions to the original structure, is supported by the examination of the north wall of the former. Decisive archaeological proof, however, would require further excavation.

These results receive ample confirmation from an examination of the superstructure. The colonnades of the original building, as exemplified in the nave, are characterised by the use of the Doric architrave and triglyph frieze, with their associated Corinthian marble cornice, and by the traces of a blind upper order, carried out in stucco over a masonry core. It is patent that, in the presbytery, these elements are structurally anterior to the insertion of the angle columns and of the vault, and have suffered considerably from the insertion of these later features. In every case the stucco pilaster has been bisected by the cornice of the adjacent angle column. At the north-west angle of the presbytery the corner of the earlier cornice has been knocked off to accommodate the top drum of the angle column; and at the north-east angle, the capital of the angle column has been cut away to accommodate the corresponding corner of the cornice. In the nave the surviving pilaster of the upper order at the end of the nave colonnade is masked by the cornice of the triumphal arch. In short, the present arrangement makes nonsense of the carefully planned and executed architectural scheme which, even in its present fragmentary state, the interior of the original structure can be seen to have embodied.

The original presbytery was a simple, square structure with flanking aisles (Fig. 7). The absence of any provision in the foundations to carry extra weight indicates that it was almost certainly timber-roofed; and it probably took the form of a low central tower. High up in the centre of either side, above the two windows and immediately below the vault, can be seen part of a projecting masonry pilaster, identical with those of the stucco engaged order beneath.[7] It can hardly be other than the remains of a similar feature, the rest of which has since been destroyed by the insertion of the dome and

[7] Visible in pl. XII, 1, above and to the right of the nearer window. This feature seems hitherto to have escaped attention, and was noticed by Dr. E. Fischer.

of the successive later windows. A low tower with an open roof would have needed no lateral support other than that afforded by the internal cross-walls of the presbytery aisles. That these aisles were roofed continuously with the nave aisles, and did not constitute a distinct transept, separately roofed, seems to be proved by the continuation through the presbytery, at the level of the sill of the existing windows, of the same marble cornice as once ran the length of the central nave, below the clerestory and above the nave aisles (Pl. XVII, 1 and 2). A fragment of this cornice can still be seen on the south face at the south-west angle of the building. There are suggestions of an earlier decorative treatment of the exterior of the central tower above the level

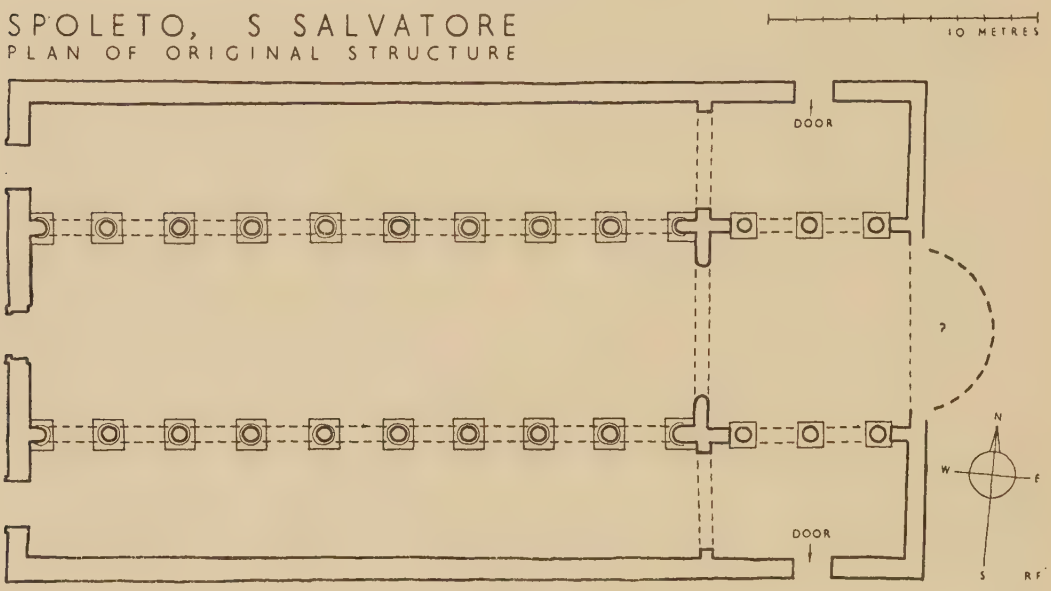


FIG. 7.

of this cornice[8]; but there is no clear evidence of its date relative to the other surviving features.

The only difficulty, which, at first glance, the sum of these conclusions might seem to present, is that the whole elaborate order of the angle piers of the presbytery must be later than the cornice of the lateral colonnades. The two are so remarkably similar, both in workmanship and in architectural effect, that it is hard to believe that they are far separated in date. The difficulty is, however, more apparent than real. Even if we assume that none of the material is re-used, there is nothing to show that the two constructional phases did not follow closely the one upon the other. There are, it should also be noted, minor, but consistent, differences between the two groups. In the cornice of the lateral colonnades the ornament of the cyma is an overlapping leaf-pattern (Pl. XV, 3); in the two cornices of the angle piers, and in that of the apse,

[8] These are traces of what may have been a projecting pilaster between the arches of two windows (the jamb between the windows is modern, replacing the window visible in Montiroli's drawings), and of a horizontal course in dark stone above the windows; see pl. XVII, 2.

it is a repeated vertical fluting (Pl. XV, 2). These differences may, or may not, prove to be significant. In any case the evidence of structural succession is perfectly clear, and must itself form the basis of any stylistic inference.

Evidence of structural modification is clear at the east end also. The two lateral chapels of S. Isidoro and S. Agostino project well to the east of the central apse. The space between is filled with a lofty arch (Pl. XVI, 1 and 3). The outer face of the apse is straight; and the coursing of the masonry is continuous with that of the lateral chapels (Pl. XVI, 2). Apse and chapels are certainly contemporary. The central arch is, equally clearly, a later insertion (Pl. XVI, 4). If the lateral chapels and, at any rate in its present form, the apse are themselves additions to the original structure, then the arch in the centre of the east façade offers clear evidence of yet another phase of monumental building activity.

The insertion of this arch, with its narrow voussoirs, hood-mould, and cornices, all in a dark, contrasting stone, was part only of a more extensive programme of work, which affected the presbytery also. The large double windows on either side of the presbytery itself and in the presbytery aisles have been restored in modern times; but enough remains of the original work, particularly on the north side (Pl. XVII, 1), to show that they were built in the same distinctive manner and materials as the arch, and they must certainly be contemporary. These windows were themselves later suppressed and replaced by those which figure in Montiroli's drawings. Between them they seem to have obliterated all trace of the earlier lighting-arrangements for the presbytery.

It will perhaps be as well, in conclusion, to indicate briefly certain problems upon which the present investigations have thrown no direct light. The first of these concerns the source of the re-used classical material. It has been suggested that the church stands on the site of a pagan temple; and the character of the dedication lends colour to the suggestion. The excavations here described revealed nothing that could be ascribed to such a building. The earliest foundations exposed, with their carefully graded levels, are certainly those of the existing structure. This does not, of course, preclude the existence of an earlier building on other foundations. It may be remarked, in passing, that the remains of Roman Spoleto, re-used in the medieval city, reveal an unusually high percentage of Doric architectural elements.

Another unresolved problem is that of the disparity between, on the one hand, the pair of cornices which flank the triumphal arch and, on the other, those which flank the apse. Both pairs must belong to the second structural phase; and yet, while the western pair is carefully and accurately fitted to the complex profile of the pier, and would seem to have been made expressly to fit the position which it now occupies (Pl. XV, 2), each member of the other pair consists of two distinct cornice-blocks, cut and joined with a crudity that is wholly inconsistent with the delicacy of their detailed treatment, and strongly suggests a re-use of existing material (Pl. XII, 2). The strange, pedestal-like elements, which are interposed between the order of the angle piers and the spring of the vault, present a similar dilemma. The die of each is carved on the two exposed faces only; and they have all the appearance of having been made expressly to serve their present purpose: indeed it is hard to imagine what other architectural function they could ever have fulfilled. Nevertheless, it seems clear that two at any rate of the four are in fact re-used; for in both cases detailed inspection reveals that the cornice,

which is carved in one piece with the die, is returned for a short distance along one of the engaged faces, in the one case (at the south-east angle) with a further return, to form a small re-entrant feature on the angle.[9] The significance of these facts has yet to be determined. They deserve statement, however, if only as an indication of the structural problems still to be elucidated before any proper appraisal can be made of the significance for the history of architecture of this important and puzzling monument.

J. B. Ward Perkins

[9] Pl. XV, 4, illustrates the corresponding feature at the SW angle. The return of the cornice moulding on one of the engaged faces is just visible at the top left corner.

DOCUMENTS FROM THE ANGEVIN REGISTERS OF NAPLES: CHARLES I

THE deliberate, senseless destruction of the documents belonging to the Grande Archivio di Stato of Naples is one of the greatest, if not the greatest, single crime against history committed by the German army during the late war. The circumstances and the results of the act which reduced to ashes this vast collection of records of Southern Italy, covering more than a thousand years, are not as widely known among scholars, much less the general public, as they should be, and they seem therefore to call for some brief account in order to explain the reason of the present publication. Evacuated because of the dangers of air-warfare over Naples from the Archivio to the Villa Montesano near to S. Paolo Belsito some thirty kilometres away, and packed for the most part into 866 solid cases, this priceless treasure of over 30,000 MS. volumes and 50,000 documents under the charge of a keeper of Archives remained undiscovered by the German command until the Allied troops were already approaching.

On 28 September, 1943, however, a foraging party came to the Villa in search of calves wanted for food and found instead cases of records stored for safety. Next morning an officer accompanied by a single soldier arrived; he ordered one of the chests to be opened and carefully inspected the volumes packed within. After the purely historical nature of the deposit had been explained to him and its immense importance from this point of view, he professed himself satisfied and departed. His visit did not arouse the suspicions of the Superintendent of the Naples Archives, Conte Riccardo Filangieri di Candida, who was staying at the moment in the neighbourhood, because so far no hostile act had been committed against any institution of art or learning. Nor was he seriously apprehensive when early on the morning of 30 September he was informed that a further party had appeared late on the previous afternoon and had spent some time in the vaults, apparently on the pretext that munitions were there concealed. He believed that even if any attempt were made to blow up the Villa the packing-cases were too stout and too well stacked for the documents to be greatly damaged. But he wrote an official letter to be given to the local military authorities, explaining briefly that the deposit was the property of the State Archives of Naples and of historic interest alone; and that not only for Europe at large, but also for Germany and German students—the surviving fragment of the original Register of the Emperor Frederick II was there. These facts could easily be verified, he added, by reference to the German Historical Institute in Rome.

All was in vain, for total destruction had been decreed. As the bearer of the letter was returning to the Villa he met an incendiary squad of three German soldiers on motor cycles, armed with machine guns, who announced that within a quarter of an hour they would have set fire to the whole deposit. The letter was given to the non-commissioned officer in charge—it was even read to him in French translation because he understood little Italian—but he snatched it roughly away and flung it to the winds. Refusing to allow any delay or time for inquiry, the officer put the whole responsibility on his

anonymous superiors when he exclaimed: 'Comando conoscere tutto, ordine bruciare.' Who these superiors were has never been satisfactorily established, because it was later found that the local command at Nola had already retreated. The order may therefore have come either from some general still in the neighbourhood or from Headquarters at Naples, the instrument of the planned acts of destruction, which were carried out on the eve of withdrawal. But the soldiers obeyed their orders, whatever the source, only too faithfully: they put straw and incendiary powder in the middle and in the four corners of each room, and setting fire to it all, in less than an hour the records of a millennium had perished in the blazing pyre. 'Their destruction,' it has been said with pitiful truth, 'has created an immense void in the historical sources for European civilization, a void that nothing can ever fill.'[1]

Among the most precious of the documents destroyed were the 507 volumes which contained the records emanating from the Angevin chancery between 1265 and 1434, and which until the fatal 30 September had survived all the vicissitudes of war, earthquake and rebellion during centuries. Outstanding among them were the 378 stately Registri, written on parchment and bound in leather and the 4 Registri nuovi; the 66 Fascicoli of administrative acts on paper from the XIII and XIV centuries; the 38 volumes of Arche in pergamena and the 21 volumes of Arche in carta.[2] Together they afforded a veritable store-house of information concerning the former kingdom of Sicily, both in its island and its continental provinces, in every aspect of its life. Generations of historians and antiquaries have searched its riches for the facts which each needed for his particular subject of inquiry, and never have they searched in vain.

The systematic study of the Registri began in the second half of the XVI century when the then surviving loose quaternions were bound into 436 thick volumes, although in unbelievable disorder of chronology and confusion of different classes of documents. This disorder continued to hamper scholars until by the labours of Paul Durrieu (1885–7)[3] a detailed analysis of the contents and structure of each volume was made, a work carried to perfection by Bartolommeo Capasso in 1894.[4] But in spite of all the difficulties presented by the Registri, genealogists, antiquaries and historians from 1604 onwards were making copious extracts from them for their specific studies concerning noble families, officers of state, local history and later on general history or the history of particular reigns. Of these works much has remained in manuscript in various libraries, but much during the past three centuries has found its way into print in monographs and learned periodicals. At the same time scholars and archivists laboured to compile 'Notamenta', i.e. repertories, summaries and indices of registers, either entire or partial, in order to facilitate their use. Among them were the repertories of the archivists: Pietro Vincenti (1610–1614), Sigismondo Sicola (1673–1710) and Michelangelo Chiarito (1759–1763). More complete and detailed than these was the vast array

[1] For further information see the 'Account of the Destruction of the Naples Archives, compiled by the Superintendant of Archives, Conte Riccardo Filangieri di Candida' in *Italian Archives during the War and at its close*, compiled by Hilary Jenkinson and H. E. Bell, London, H.M. Stationery Office, 1947, pp. 44–6; see also the report 'Rovine di Guerra in Napoli', presented by Ernesto Pontieri to the Deputazione napoletana di Storia patria in *Archivio storico per le Provincie Napoletane* LXVIII, 1943.

[2] R. Filangieri, *loc. cit.* Appendix 8, pp. 46, 47, 48.

[3] P. Durrieu, *Les Archives angevines de Naples*, 2 voll. (Bibl. des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 46, 51), Paris, 1886–7.

[4] B. Capasso, *Inventario cronologico-sistematico dei Registri angioini*, Naples, 1894.

of 'Notamenta' produced by Carlo de Lellis in the half-century before 1701. Besides his work on individual families, much of it still extant in the Biblioteca nazionale at Naples, while much perished in the flames at Villa Montesano, was the invaluable collection of abstracts of whole series of records in the ancient Archivio della Regia Zecca, and more particularly the eleven volumes of 'Notamenta ex Registris; ex Fasciculis; ex Archis'. This collection, after passing through several hands, was acquired in 1925 by the Italian Ministry of the Interior on behalf of the Archivio di Stato of Naples.[1] The 'Notamenta ex Registris' included abstracts of Registers, lost at various times subsequent to 1701, and those for the reign of Charles I were fortunately published in 1939 under the title of *Gli Atti perduti della Cancelleria Angioina, Parte I*, 2 voll. a cura di Bianca Mazzoleni. The rest of this material remained in the Archivio and in consequence some of the volumes, namely those covering the reigns of Charles I, Joanna I and the sovereigns of the House of Durazzo were among the 26 Repertories which shared the fate of the original records in 1943. The other volumes survived.

With signal courage and devotion in face of the immense disaster, Conte Riccardo di Filangieri, helped by his assistants in the Archivio, is bending every effort to the task of reconstituting volume by volume, so far as is humanly possible, the lost treasure of the Angevin Registri and Fascicoli. Leaving aside for the time being the collection of the documents, which, although scattered in innumerable books and periodicals, are yet safely in print, he is concentrating first on the recovery of transcripts, photographs and microfilms of unpublished material still in the hands of scholars, both Italian and foreign, or their representatives. Among them the collections of G. M. Monti and E. Pontieri in Italy, A. de Boüard and E. G. Léonard in France, E. Sthamer and others in Germany, have yielded a great quantity of documents.

It is in the hope therefore of making a contribution however exiguous to the vast undertaking of reconstructing the Registri that the present small collection of 303 items is offered. With it must go some explanation of their origin and scope, and also of the method followed in arranging them for publication. In the first place it should be said that the documents here printed consist partly of complete transcripts, or of extracts or even of mere summaries, but all made from the records themselves, and partly of copies of the 'Notamenta' of Carlo de Lellis. Next it should be made clear that they are drawn exclusively from the Registri for the reign of Charles I of Anjou, leaving, it is hoped, to some future occasion the printing of documents from the Registers of other reigns and from the Fascicoli and Arche. All the Registers for Charles I, i.e. the numbers 1–49, are represented, with the exception of numbers 9, 15, 20, 36 and 47; and also of numbers 12 and 19, which in fact belong to the reign of Charles II. The repertories of De Lellis brought under contribution are the 'Notamenta ex Registris' I, II and VI. Even the briefest summaries are included, because they are in many cases the sole surviving record of the document.

All the transcripts were in the possession of three English scholars, the late Sir George Hill, Mr. A. Walter James and the present editor, having been made either

[1] For the history of the documents of the Angevin chancery and the repertories see R. Filangieri di Candida, 'Notamenti e repertori delle Cancellerie Napoletane compilati da Carlo de Lellis e da altri eruditi dei Secoli XVI e XVII', Naples, 1927.

personally by them, or on their behalf by members of the Archive staff in Naples. The documents were chosen to illustrate the specific subjects of their study, as here described:

1. The late Sir George Hill, K.C.B. (formerly Director of the British Museum) was concerned in his *History of Cyprus*, with the negotiations between Charles I and the Demoiselle Marie d'Antioche, and Signorina Dott. Iole Mazzoleni summarized briefly a number of documents (in some cases already published) referring to the lady, and others relating to the Angevin occupation of Acre (Acon) under Roger of S. Severino, Count of Marsico. Owing to the state of war which existed from 1940, the full transcripts could not be completed.

2. A. Walter James, Rome Scholar 1935 (late Senior Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford; Arnold Essay Prize, 1934), for the purpose of a projected study of the 'Foreign Policy of Charles I', carried out researches in the Registers, making transcripts himself and further commissioning the help of Signorina Dott. Bianca Mazzoleni, who made short notes of relevant documents and full transcripts of a considerable number. The subjects illustrated include: The Tripoli Crusade of 1270; the Corn-Trade of Naples and Sicily; the Angevin Administration of Achaia and Acre; the Preparations, diplomatic and military, for the war of 1283 in Sicily.

3. The present editor made extensive researches over a number of years in the Registers, the Fascicoli and the Arche, as well as the Notamenta of De Lellis, for the history of the Counts of Molise and Marsia; the history of the family of Lupara in the Contado di Molise; and Feudal Service and Adohamentum in the Kingdom; she copied many items either in complete transcripts or in extracts; two documents were transcribed by Cav. Pietro Spadetta of the Archivio; and Signorina Bianca Mazzoleni carried out careful searches in the 'Notamenta' and made a number of transcripts from the Registers and Fascicoli.

An effort has been made to include in this edition only documents which have not already been published in full, and likewise only summaries not already published as such; in a few instances texts are given in full which have hitherto been represented in print by summaries only. Nevertheless it has not been possible to make an exhaustive search of all existing printed sources and the previous publication of some documents may have escaped notice.

In conclusion some notes must be given in explanation of the method of the edition:—

1. The documents are arranged by register and folio in numerical order, irrespective of subject matter, because it has been thought that this will most readily assist the reconstitution of the Registers, the objective of the edition.

2. Each item has been given a number running consecutively, and under the number will be found:

a. The complete transcript, the extract or the summary, as the case may be, made from the original register.

b. The transcript from the 'Notamenta' of De Lellis in smaller type. It must

be noted that many documents are represented by either a. or b. alone; but in some instances there is a transcript both from the Register and the 'Notamenta'.

c. The date of time and place as fully as is possible from available information.

d. References to citations; to any further copy extant in another register, a repetition caused by the practice of drawing up a document in duplicate, triplicate or even quadruplicate for the use of the various departments of government; and finally to other documents dealing with the same subject.

e. The initials of the transcriber:

A. W. J. = A. Walter James
E. M. J. = Evelyn M. Jamison
B. M. = Bianca Mazzoleni
I. M. = Iole Mazzoleni
P. S. = Pietro Spadetta.

f. The reference to the relevant portion of the register in P. Durrieu, *Les archives angevines de Naples*, vol. I, and in B. Capasso, *Inventario dei Registri angioini*.

3. Spelling follows that recorded by each transcriber, except that the modern English use of i and j, u and v has been consistently adopted in transcripts from the Registers; modern punctuation has been introduced to a limited extent.

4. Lacunae in the original document are indicated by three dots; suggested readings to supply lacunae or illegible words are enclosed in square brackets.

5. Explanatory additions by the transcriber are enclosed in round brackets; similar additions by the editor are in round brackets with the abbreviation *ed.*

6. Italic is used when part of the text is given in an English rendering or paraphrase.

7. Abbreviations of the titles of books frequently cited are given in the appended short list of books and articles which have yielded the most important bibliographical information.

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DOCUMENTS FROM THE ANGEVIN REGISTERS OF NAPLES: CHARLES I

No. 1. Registro Angioino, No. 1 (1268 A) f. 144 t. 1278, 2 April, Ind, VI, Torre di S. Erasmo, near Capua

Magistris portulanis et procuratoribus Apulie et Aprucii. Pro Thomasio de Sancto Severino (transmictendo patri suo Rogerio de Sancto Severino, *ed.*) comiti Marsici in Regno Jerosolimitano Vicario, ut exire faciant pro eo equos, mulos et alia victualia. Aput Turrim sancti Herasmi. [Summary I. M.

Note: The words in brackets were not included in the summary.

Cit. M. Amari, *La Guerra del Vespro Siciliano* 2ª. ed. Paris, 1843, p. 85 and n. 2, who gives the references to documents on this subject from Reg. Ang. I. (1268 A) for March, April, May, June, July and August. Alexis de Guignard, Comte de Saint-Priest, *Histoire de la Conquète de Naples*, Paris, 1847, t. III, p. 291, n. 2, 'Rescrits de Charles 1er, de mars et avril, 1278'; and Sir George Hill, *History of Cyprus*, vol. II, Cambridge, 1948, p. 190, n. 2; for these rescripts, besides the present document, cf. *post* No. 96, issued on the same day and probably another copy of it, and Nos. 129, 130, 131, 134, all with reference to Roger of San Severino, Count of Marsico at Acre. He was Vicar General and Bailiff of the Kingdom of Jerusalem from 1277 to 1282.

P. Durrieu, *Les Archives angevines de Naples* t. I, (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 46, 1886) p. 253, ff. 144–168, 'Littere misse in Apulia', 24 mars au 31 juillet, 1278; B. Capasso, *Inventario cronologico-sistematico dei Registri angioini . . . di Napoli*, 1894, p. 2.

No. 2. Reg. cit. f. 154. 1278, 3 August, Ind. VI, Lagopesole.

Magistris portulanis et procuratoribus Apulie etc., ut reparare faciant quamdam navim hospitalis Sancte Marie Theotonicorum in portu Brundusii existentem, cum que mictere debetur aquam (pro equis *ed.*) etc., ad Rogerium de Sancto Severino in Regno Jerosolimitano vicario pro serviciis nostris apud Acon. [Summary I. M.

Summarized more fully in C. Minieri Riccio, 'Il Regno di Carlo I d'Angiò dal 2 gennaio 1273 al 31 dicembre 1285' in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 4ª. serie, t. I, 1878, p. 427 where it is a question of transporting victuals, horses and the necessary water for them, but the ship is erroneously ascribed by Minieri Riccio to 'S. Maria de' Cavalieri Templari'.

Durrieu I, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*; but the date of this letter is later than the limit of 31 July, noted by these writers.

No. 3. Reg. cit. f. 154. 1278, 3 August, Ind. VI, Lagopesole

Magistris portulanis Apulie et Aprucii, ut mictant duo milia salmarum frumenti de Brundusio aput Acon et faciant ibidem Rogerio de Sancto Severino in Regno Jerosolimitano vicario assignari pro serviciis regis. [Summary I. M.

Cf. *post* No. 98, in which the same order is repeated, but with the date of 13 August.

Durrieu I, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*; and the same note as to the date.

No. 4. Reg. Ang. No. 1 (1268 A) contd. f. 155 t.

1278, 9 August, Ind. VI, Lagopesole

Magistris portulanis Apulie et Aprutii pro frumento et ordeo mictendo aput Brundusium et abinde aput Acon cum navi Sancte Marie Theotonicorum et alio vassello. [Summary I. M.

Durrieu I, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*; and the same note.

No. 5. Reg. cit. f. 160 t. 1278, 28 August, Ind. VI, Lagopesole

Rogerio de Sancto Severino comiti Marsici pro magistro Andrea (*sic, ed.*) dicto Nigro capellano et judici Bartholomeo Bonello de Barolo, qui ab Acon discedere debent ad partes alias pro serviciis regiis. (Two documents.) [Summary I. M.

Cf. G. M. Monti, 'Da Carlo I a Roberto di Angio', *A.S.P.N.* LVI, 1931, p. 220, who publishes an apparently different letter from the same register and folio, addressed to Roger of S. Severino on 27 August, ordering his assistance for 'venerabili patri P. Occuviensi Episcopo, magistro Guillelmo dicto Nigro cappellano familiaribus et judici Bartholomeo Bonello de Barolo fidelibus nostris'; that there were two documents of this same import on f. 160 t. was noted by Signorina Mazzoleni. Yet another letter to Roger of S. Severino with the same reference, dated 28 August, referring to the falcons to be sent to the King of the Tartars, is published by Monti, *ibid.*, p. 221.

Durrieu I, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*; and the same note.

No. 6. Reg. Ang. No. 2 (1268 O) f. 69. (1276, June, Ind. IV, Rome)

De Lellis I, p. 1147: Item infrascripti Barones Latini Terrae Idrunti fuerunt submoniti ad comparendum in monstra in Sancto Germano, [videlicet illi qui tenent feudalia an. val. unc. 20 et ultra compareant personaliter] et, qui tenent feudalia infra valorem an. unc. 20 solvant adohamentum ad rationem unc. 12 et medietatis de singulis unc. 20 reddituum ut eorum loco solidentur alii, et feudatarii sunt viz.: . . . [E. M. J.

Cit. R. Moscati, 'La Feudalità napoletana nel periodo angioino', *A.S.P.N.* LXI, 1936–7, p. 3, and n. 1.

Note: the words in brackets are not in the transcript from De Lellis, and they have been supplied from No. 69 *post*.

The above mandate refers to the 'contumacious Latin feudatories', who failed to appear at the muster, and their names are published by C. Minieri Riccio, 'Il regno di Carlo I 1273–1285' *A.S.I.*, 3ª. serie t. XXV, 1877, p. 41, from the same register, No. 2, f. 68 t. He attributes them to the Justiciarate of the Terra di Bari, but this is an obvious error for the Terra di Otranto, to which the feudatories mentioned may be shown to belong. For a successful petition by three of them, cf. No. 110 *post*; one of them, Roger Maramonte, had already in 1272 been forced to appeal to the king against similar injustice in regard to the muster for Achaia in October, 1272 (C. Minieri Riccio, *Il Regno di Carlo I d'Angiò negli anni 1271 e 1272*, Naples, 1875, p. 92; F. Carabellese, *Carlo d'Angiò nei rapporti politici e commerciali con Venezia e l'Oriente*, Bari, 1911, p. 20, n. 2 (Commissione provinciale di archeologia e storia patria, Documenti e Monografie, vol. X), and F. Cerone, 'La Sovranità napoletana sulla Morea e sulle Isole vicine', *A.S.P.N.* t. XLI, 1916, p. 62 and n. 2).

Durrieu I, p. 255: ff. 62–69, Charles, prince de Salerne, 'Actes adressés aux justiciers sans distinction de provinces', 12 mai au 3 juin, 1276; Capasso, p. 3, Ind. IV (1275–1276), ff. 62–69, Iustitiariis citra Farum.

No. 7. Reg. Ang. No. 3 (1269 A) f. 1. 1269, 12 March, Ind. XIII

De Lellis I, p. 1; *signature appended by* Petro Domino Bellimontis Comite Montis Caveosi et Albae Regni Siciliae Camerario *to a privilege of 12 March, 1269, Ind. XIII (showing that he was already Count of Albe at this date).* [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 256: ff. 1–8 'Privilegia', 12 mars 1269 et 20 avril au 19 août, 1273; Capasso, p. 5.

No. 8. Reg. cit. f. 94 t. 1273, Ind. I

De Lellis I; Petro de Tyonvilla commissio capitanie Matricis (Amatrice, province of Rieti *ed.*). [B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 256: ff. 66–102 'Extravagantes infra regnum', 4 mai au 31 août 1273; Capasso, p. 6.

No. 9. Reg. cit. f. 98. 1273, 21 July, Ind. I, Florence

Scriptum est Jozolino de Marra. Cum nobilis vir Johannes de Monteforti Comes Squillacii dilectus etc., futurus vir Margarite primogenite quondam Petri olim domini Bellimontis, Montiscaveosi et Albe Comitis et Regni Sicilie Camerarii ad habendam notitiam teneat de animalibus, victualibus, proventibus et redditibus et quibuslibet aliis bonis seu rebus mobilibus et immobilibus que fuerunt ipsius Comitis Camerarii, *and which are now in the hands of the Curia in the custody of Nicolaus de Satriano, Jozolinus is ordered to make two lists of the goods; one of these he is to keep, and the other is to be given to Nicolaus de Satriano, so that with efflux of time, he may the more fully inform the Count of Squillace concerning the goods.* Datum Florentie, XXI Julii. (*The documents preceding and following are dated* Indictionis I = 1273.) [E. M. J.

De Lellis I, p. 35: Nobili Joanni de Monteforti Comiti Squillacensi militi viro futuro Margaritae primogenitae quondam Petri de Bellomonte Comitis Camerarii provisio pro bonis dicti quondam Petri, f. 96 et 97, 98, qui Camerarius est Comes Montis Caveosi, et Albae, 98. [E. M. J.

Cf. C. Minieri Riccio, *Cenni storici intorno i grandi uffizii del Regno di Sicilia durante il regno di Carlo I d'Angiò*, Naples, 1872, p. 164 (12), p. 171 (33).

Durrieu I, *ibid.*; Capasso *ibid.*

No. 10. Reg. cit. f. 111 t. 1273, July, Ind. I

De Lellis I, p. 37: Roberto et Filiberto de Brayda, Uberto Guerzio, et aliis de familiis Rapa et Faleti mercatoribus Civitatis Albae pro protectione nostra. [E. M. J.

Note: this is Alba, province of Cuneo, not Massa d'Albe, province of L'Aquila. For references to these families, see G. M. Monti, *La Dominazione angioina in Piemonte*, Turin, 1930; but these individuals are not there mentioned; Pietro Brayda di Soleto, 'Circa l'origine e il trasferimento dei De Brayda nel Napoletano' in *Rivista Araldica*, Anno XXV, Rome, 1927, p. 29 reports from Reg. ang. No. 5 (1269 C.) f. 231 'un salvacondotto concesso dallo stesso re nel 1270 ad "Ogerium, Antonium, Odonem, Guillelmum, Obertum, Tipaldum, Philippum et Philibbertum . . . Cives Albenses dilectos fideles nostros" dimoranti nel Reame'.

Durrieu I, p. 256: ff. 103–112, 'Extravagantes extra regnum', 28 juin au 8 juillet 1273; Capasso, p. 6.

No. 11. Reg. Ang. No. 4 (1269 B) f. 10 t. 1268, 27 December, Ind. XII, Foggia

King Charles on the occasion of his marriage with Margaret, daughter of the late count Odo of Nevers, grants her the city of Le Mans. The text of the privilege is published: G. Del Giudice, *Codice diplomatico del regno di Carlo I e II d'Angiò*, Napoli, 1863–1902, vol. II, p. 272, no. XCV.

De Lellis I, p. 52, 53: Margaritae Reginae uxori nostrae, cum qua desponsari debemus in die 18 novembris, Indictione 12, Concessio Civitatis nostrae Cenomanensis ex causa donationis propter nuptias, actum praesentibus Philippo Primogenito et herede Illustrissimi Imperatoris Constantinopolitani, Guidone de Monteforti, Guillelmo de Bellomonte milite, Drogone milite fratre eius, Rogerio Comite Celanensi, Pandulfo de Fasanella, sub datum Fogiae per manus magistri Gaufridi de Bellomonte Cancellarii et Roberti de Baro Protonotarii Regni Siciliae anno 1268. [E. M. J.

De Lellis, it should be noted, gives correctly the name, as it was written in the Register, of the witness 'Rogerio Comite Celanensi', and not as in Del Giudice: 'Regio'; cf. E. Jamison, *I Conti di Molise e di Marsia nei secoli XII e XIII*, p. 143, n. 4 in *Atti del Convegno Storico Abruzzese-Molisano I*, Casalbordino, 1932.

Durrieu I, p. 257: ff. 10–15, 'Privilegia', 24 décembre 1268 au 18 mai 1296; Capasso, p. 7, Ind. XII (1268–1269) dic.-giugno, Privilegia, ff. 10–15.

No. 12. Reg. Ang. No. 4 (1269 B) f. 30. 1269, 7 April, Ind. XII, Foggia

Scriptum est Petro de Baiocis et Bernardo de Brolio . . . *according to the form of the letters addressed* ad Rogerium de Celano vel eius procuratorem. . . . Fogie, septimo Aprilis, XII^{e}. Indictione.

This and the two following 'Scripta', Nos. 13 and 14 are concerned with the inquisition into the right of count Roger to the Counties of Molise, Celano and Albe; see *I conti*, p. 144 and n. 1. [E. M. J.

De Lellis I, p. 58: Magistris Petro de Baiocis, et Bernardo de Brolio Legum Professoribus commissio ad procedendum contra Rogerium de Celano f. 30, et provisio sequenti modo qua inquiritur super Comitatibus Molisii, Celani et Albae, f. 30, et alia provisio sequens ibidem. [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 258: ff. 23–33, 'Extravagantes infra regnum', 3 février au 15 avril, 1269; Capasso, p. 7.

No. 13. Reg. cit. f. 30. 1269, 4 April, Ind. XII, Foggia

Scriptum est Bernardo de Brolio . . . *whereas in the matter* inter magistrum Camerarium procuratorem nostrum nomine nostro ex una parte et nobilem virum Rogerium dictum comitem de Celano seu Bartholomeum de Balneo procuratorem ejus ex altera, super comitatibus Molisii, Celani et Albe, a curia nostra predicti Petrus de Baiocis et Petrus Cocus ad recipiendum testes senes et valitudinarios, quos utraque pars producere voluerit a tempore commissionis usque ad quatuor menses *have been appointed, now since Petrus Cocus has died, Bernardus de Brolio is substituted for him* . . . Fogie, IV^{o} Aprilis, XII^{e} Indictionis.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 14. Reg. cit. f. 30. 1269, 1 April, Ind. XII, Foggia

Scriptum est Justiciariis, secretis etc., *regarding the* testes in negotio quod est inter nos et Comitem Celanensem, Fogie, primo Aprilis, XII^{e}. Indictionis. [E. M. J.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 15. Reg. Ang. No. 4 (1269 B) contd. f. 60.

1269, 14 March, Ind. XII, Foggia

Commission dated in the Register: Fogie, XIV Martii, XII[e] Ind.

De Lellis I, pp. 65–66: Judici Andreae de Ponterolo, Commissario negotii quod habemus cum Comiti Celani loco quondam magistri Petri Coci. [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 258: ff. 60, 61, 'Just. Aprucii', 2 mars au 9 mai, 1269; Capasso, p. 7.

No. 16. Reg. Ang. No. 5 (1269 C) f. 1. 1270 (January, Ind. XIII)

Pro Comite Camerario (i.e. Peter de Beaumont, count of Montescaglioso and Chamberlain of the Kingdom of Sicily, *1266–1273*). Justitiario Terrae Laboris et Comitatus Molisii, *informing him of the grant to Peter of the County of Celano on the occasion of his marriage with Philippa, daughter of Count Roger. . . .* Regni nostri anno quinto. *The rest of the date in the Register was illegible, but the documents on the reverse of the folio were dated:* Januarii, XIII Indictionis.

Cit. *I Conti*, p. 144, n. 3.

De Lellis I, p. 107; Provisiones sequentes diriguntur Justitiario Terrae Laboris et Comitatus Molisii. Concessio comitatus Celani, quia de nostro assensu duxit (i.e. Peter de Beaumont) uxorem nobilem Filippam filiam nobilis Rogerii Comitis, f. p°.

Note: Peter de Beaumont held the county of Celano for a very brief period, because it was restored to Count Roger before 23 January, 1270, but Peter retained the County of Albe as Philippa's dowry. [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 260: ff. II–VIIII, 'Justitiario et erario Terre Laboris et comitatus Molisii' . . . janvier au 12 mars, 1270; Capasso, p. 10. Both Durrieu and Capasso place the beginning of this Register at f. II, unlike De Lellis, who gives 'f. primo', but they agree with him in noting that the first items are addressed to the Justiciar of the Terra di Lavoro and County of Molise.

No. 17. Reg. cit. f. 1. 1270 (January, Ind. XIII)

Pro Comite Celani (i.e. *Count Roger,* as above) . . . Regni nostri anno quinto. The rest of the date in the register was illegible, but the reverse of the folio was dated January, XIII Indictionis. This document deals also with the grant of the County of Celano. [E. M. J.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 18. Reg. cit. f. 41. 1270, 23 January, Ind. XIII, Capua

Scriptum est Justitiario Aprucii, *ordering the barons and vassals of the county of Celano to take the oath of security to Count Roger, to whom the county has been granted.*

The text is published by B. Capasso, *Sui Diurnali di Matteo da Giovinazzo*, 2ª. ed. (Biblioteca Critica di Letteratura Italiana, n. 3), Florence, 1895, pp. 44, 45, together with the text of the Privilege granting the County to Count Roger; cit. *I Conti*, p. 145, n. 4.

De Lellis I, p. 116: Nobili Rogerio Comiti Celani, cui concessimus Comitatum Celani provisio, quod assecuretur a Baronibus et Vassallis dicti Comitatus, f. 41. [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 260: ff. XLI–XLVIII, 'Just. et erario Aprucii', 17 jan. au 23 mars 1270; Capasso, p. 9.

No. 19. Reg. Ang. No. 5 (1269 C) contd. f. 41 t.

1270, 27 January, Ind. XIII, Capua

Scriptum est Justitiario Aprutii etc.; *On the petition of Count Roger of Celano the vassals of Rocca de Medio (Rocca di Mezzo, prov. L'Aquila) are ordered to pay all subventions and dues to him, and not as they had done for a time to the justiciars on behalf of the Curia.* Datum Capue, XXVII Januarii, Indictionis XIII.

Cit. *I Conti*, p. 145 and n. 5.

De Lellis I, p. 116: Provisiones sequentes diriguntur Justitiario Aprutii. Nobili Rogerio Comiti Celani provisio pro vassallis Terrae Suae Roccae de Medio, f. 41 t°. [E. M. J.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso *ibid.*

No. 20. Reg. cit. f. 124. 1270, 10 February, Ind. XIII, Capua

Datum Capue, X Februarii, XIII Indictionis.

De Lellis I, p. 136: Rogerio Comiti Celani provisio pro reintegratione Castri Cuculli ad dictum Comitatum. f. 124. [E. M. J.

Cit. *I Conti*, p. 143, n. 2.

Durrieu I, p. 261: ff. CXV–[CXXXIIII], 'Secreto Terre Laboris, Principatus et Aprucii', 18 janvier au 31 mars, 1270; Capasso, p. 10.

No. 21. Reg. cit. f. 139. 1270, 15 January, Ind. XIII, Capua

Item scriptum est predicto secreto Apulie. Karolus etc. secreto Apulie fideli suo etc. . . . quod fratri Bilingerio (*sic*) de Ordine Predicatorum et Bertraino de Poiecto militi fideli nostro nunciis nostris . . . eodem Soldano redeuntibus et applicantibus apud Brandusium ad requisitionem ipsorum pro expensis eorum familiarum ipsorum. . . . Soldani cum ipsis ad nostram presentiam venientis et ejus familie dum in Brandusio moram traxerunt . . . sufficientibus pro eisdem omnibus a Brandusio usque Barolum fundicarii et alii subcabelloti tui in Brandusio . . . de pecunia Curie nostre que erat per manus eorum exhibuntur uncias auri viginti duas ponderis generalis nec non . . . nostrorum requisitionem similiter pro expensis eorumdem omnium et in Barolo moram traxerunt et abinde usque Neapolim . . . cendum equitaturis sufficientibus pro eisdem omnibus a Barolo usque Neapolim ad presentiam nostram laborasti tam ipsis . . . quam pro omnibus supradictis expensis et oportunis eorum per manus Nicholai Frecci nuncii tui de pecunia Curie nostre que . . . tuas uncias auri triginta tarenos quatuordecim et grana quinque dicti ponderis generalis; quam pecuniam per vos et dictos tuos solutam pro expensis eorumdem omnium et aliis supradictis supplicasti tibi per nostre majestatis licteras acceptari. Nos, tuis supplicationibus annuentes, exhibitionem predicte pecunie tenore presentium acceptantes eam volumus in tuo ratiocinio computari, dummodo de ipsius solucione constet per ydoneas apodixas. Datum Capue, XV ianuarii, XIII indictionis regni nostri anno V.

(Note: The upper right-hand corner of the folio has rotted and the words are here indecipherable.) [A. W. J.

Summary, C. Minieri Riccio, *Della Dominazione angioina nel Reame di Sicilia*, Naples, 1876, p. 7; cf. *post*, No. 52.

Durrieu I, p. 261: ff. [CXXXV]–CLIIII, 'Secreto Apulie', 6 janvier au 30 mars, 1270; Capasso, p. 10.

No. 22. Reg. Ang. No. 5 (1269 C) contd. f. 146 (f. CXLVI).
1270, 1 March, Ind. XIII, Capua

Scriptum est Secreto Apulie . . . *whereas Roger, Count of Celano, urges that he holds and is in possession of the* terra Serre Caprioli, *which, he asserts, the Secretus is endeavouring to revoke to the Curia as* de Comitatu Molisii, *and the count maintains that on the contrary Serra Caprioli did not form part of the county, an inquest is ordered to be held and the result reported to the curia.* Datum Capue, primo Marcii, XIII Indictionis.

Note: This 'scriptum' is subsequent to that of 1270, 11 January, Ind. XIII (Reg. Ang. No. 6 (1269 D. f. 175), *post* No. 34, by which the revocation of Serra Capriole [*sic*] was expressly ordered.

Cit. *I Conti*, p. 147, n. 2.

De Lellis I, p. 143: Rogerio Comiti Celani provisio pro possessione terrae Serre caprioli de Comitatu Molisii, f. 146. [E. M. J.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 23. Reg. cit. f. 176 t. 1270, before 23 January, Ind. XIII.

Privilege granting by special grace and favour the County of Celano to Count Roger and his daughter Philippa and their descendants.

The text is published from another copy in this Register, f. 41 (see *ante* No. 18) by B. Capasso, *Sui Diurnali di Matteo da Giovinazzo*, 2nd ed. pp. 44–45. Cf. *I Conti*, p. 145.

De Lellis, I, p. 152: Rogerio filio quondam Thomasii Comitis Celani Privilegium Concessionis . . . Comitatus Celani, pro se, et Philippa filia sua et eorum descendentibus ex eo quod refutavit dictus Rogerius nobis comitatus Celani et Albae, et Jodecta quondam Comitissa Molisii comitatum Molisii. f. 176 t°. [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 261: ff. CLXXVI–CLXXXI, 'Privilegia', 13 jan. au 13 mars, 1270; Capasso, p. 9.

No. 24. Reg. cit. f. 220. 1270, 10 February, Ind. XIII, Capua

Pro Comite Celani.

Universis Justitiariis, Capitaneis, Secretis, Castellanis, Magistris Juratis, Bajulis et ceteris officialibus per Justitiariatum Aprutii, necnon Capitaneriam Aquile tam presentibus quam futuris etc. Cum nos omnibus et singulis hominibus comitatus Celani ad terras alias Justitiariatus Aprutii et specialiter in Civitate Aquile suum transferentibus incolatum licentiam redeundi ad habitationes pristinas cum omnibus rebus eorum, si redire voluerint, duxerimus concedendam, Volumus et fidelitati vestre districtius precipimus quatenus omnes homines de predicto Comitatu, habitantes tam in civitate Aquile quam alibi, redire volentes cum rebus eorum ad pristinum incolatum sub signoria Comitis supradicti, reverti sine alique cohercitione et molestia, ibidem sub signoria memorati Comitis libere permittatis, nullamque ipsis in personis et rebus perpetuo inferatis molestiam nec ab aliquibus permittatis inferri. Datum Capue, X Februarii, XIII Indictionis. [E. M. J.

Cit. C. Minieri Riccio, *Alcuni fatti riguardanti Carlo I d'Angiò*, Naples, 1874, p. 99 (498); *I Conti*, p. 146 and n. 1.

Durrieu I, p. 261: ff. CCVI–CCXLVII, 'Extravagantes infra regnum', 16 janvier au 31 mars, 1270; Capasso, p. 10: Ind. XIII (1269–1270), gennaio-marzo, ff. 206–247.

No. 25. Reg. Ang. No. 5 (1269 C) contd. f. 220. 1270, 12 February, Ind. XIII, Capua

Petro Comite (sic).

Karolus etc. Castellano Leporanice . . . Cum castra Sancti Potiti et Leporanice, que pro tribus milibus unciis obligata nobis per Rogerium Comitem Celanensem dilectum fidelem nostrum Curia nostra tenet, eidem Comiti resignari volumus quia supradictam quantitatem relaxavimus de gratia speciali fidelitati tue firmiter precipiendo mandamus quatenus Castrum Leporanice seu Fortelleciam tue cure commissum saltim receptis presentibus omni modo et occasione remotis cum omnibus guarnimentis suis Petro Pele militi et familiari nobilis viri Petri Domini Bellimontis Comitis Montis Caveosi et Albe et Regni Sicilie Camerarii dilecti consiliarii familiaris et fidelis nostri per eundem Petrum Pele, Rogerio Comiti Celanensi predicto vel procuratori suo causa nomine assignandi sine difficultate qualibet studeas assignare, de cujus assignatione instrumentum puplicum fieri facias ad cautelam. Datum Capue, XII° Februarii, XIII^e^ Indictionis. [E. M. J.

Cit. C. Minieri Riccio, *Alcuni fatti* p. 99 (499); *I Conti*, p. 142 and n. 4.

De Lellis I, p. 161: Rogerio Comiti Celani provisio pro restitutione Castrorum Sancti Potiti, et Leporanicae que pro unciis 3 milia nobis obligata sunt, quia ei relaxamus dictam quantitatem, et mandatur Petro Pelae militi familiari nobilis Petri domini Bellimontis, Montiscaveosi, et Albae Comitis ac Regni Siciliae Camerarii, quod consignet dicta Castra eidem Rogerio f. 220, et provisio sequens ibidem, et alia folia 220 t°. [E. M. J.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 26. Reg. cit. f. 220. 1270, 12 February, Ind. XIII, Capua

Item in simili forma scriptum est castellano Sancti Potiti pro eodem comite quia restituat castrum Petro Pele sicut in alia. [E. M. J.

References as in No. 25.

No. 27. Reg. cit. f. 220 t. 1270, 12 February, Ind. XIII, Capua

Comite Celanensi.

Scriptum est Petro Pele militi et familiari nobilis viri Petri domini Bellimontis Comitis Montis Caveosi et Albe et Regni Sicilie camerarii, *reciting the same circumstances and ordering him to receive from the castellans the* castella *in question and to give them up to Count Roger of Celano or his procurator.* [E. M. J.

References as in No. 25.

No. 28. Reg. cit. f. 231. 1270, 3 March, Ind. XIII, Capua

Vagantes. Marcius.

Pro domino Petro de Bellomonte Regni Sicilie Camerario.

Scriptum est castellano Rocce de Vivo, fideli suo etc. Cum tota Rocca de Vivo inveniatur esse de demanio Comitatus Albe, Volumus et tibi presenti vero tenore precipimus, quatenus castrum ipsius terre cum armis et rebus aliis in eo existentibus noncio

(*sic*) nobilis viri Domini Bellimontis Comitis Montiscaveosi et Albe Regni Sicilie Camerarii dilecti consiliarii familiaris et fidelis nostri presentes tibi litteras assignatas statim et sine difficultate qualibet debeas assignare pro parte ipsius comitis, et vice sua ad suorum dominium noscitur pertinere ratione comitatus predicti. Datum Capue, III Marcii, XIII Indictionis. [E. M. J.

Cit. *I Conti*, p. 143, n. 3 and 146, n. 2.

De Lellis I, p. 166: Petrus dominus Bellimontis Comes Montis Caveosi, et Albae magnus Regni Siciliae Camerarius, ff. 46 t°, 177 t°, 178 t° (these pages not transcribed) et 231. [E. M. J.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 29. Reg. Ang. No. 5 (1269 C) contd. f. 246 (CCXLVI).
1270, 17 March, Ind. XIII, Capua

Pro Rogerio comite Celanensi.

Scriptum est Simoni de Sancto Angelo fideli et consiliario. Cum de nostro procedit beneplacito et mandato, ut omnes officiales, quos nobilis vir comes Celani dilectus fidelis noster olim habuit in comitatu Molisii, dum dominabatur in ipso, de fructibus et proventibus ipsius comitatus Molisii receptis per eos eo tempore, prefato comiti ponere debeant ac reddere bonum compotum et legalem, eique restituere quod restituere tenebuntur, fidelitati tue precipimus quatenus officiales predictos omnes, quos idem comes per nuncium vel litteras suas tibi duxerat nominandos, venire ad ipsum Comitem [ac reddere] eidem bonum et legalem compotum de premissis et restituere quod restituere tenebuntur, omni que convenit cohercione compellas. Datum Capue, XVII Marcii, XIII Indictionis. [E. M. J.

Cit. *I Conti*, p. 146 and n. 8.

De Lellis I, p. 165: Nobili Comiti Celani provisio quod omnes officiales sui comitatus Molisii dum olim dominabatur in ipso reddant ei compotus. f. 246. [E. M. J.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 30. Reg. Ang. No. 6 (1269 D) f. 64 t. 1284, 12 December, Ind. XIII. Melfi

Mandate to Lodoico de Montibus, vicemagistro justiciario regni Sicilie et Capitaneo Regni citra Farum, Datum Melfie die XII Decembris, XIII Indictionis.

De Lellis VI, p. 165: Mariae de Aquino relictae quondam domini Rogerii Comitis Celani matri et baliae Thomaselli filii dictae Mariae et dicti Rogerii provisio pro restitutione Castri Roccae de Medio ei ablatae per homines Civitatis Aquilae et dirigitur Lodoico de Montibus . . . et Capitaneo Regni. f. 64 t°. [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 262: ff. 63–66, 'Extravagantes infra Regnum', 9 au 20 décembre 1284; II, pp. 160, 189; Capasso, p. 11.

No. 31. Reg. cit. f. 86. 1269, Sept.–Nov., Ind. XIII

De Lellis VI, p. 175: Andreae de Rocca Romana assensus super matrimonio cum Grassedonia filia Manfredi de Pontelandolfo stante testimonio eorum fidelitatis nobis facto per Rogerium Comitem Celani et Raonem de Sancta Cruce, f. 86. [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 262: ff. 82–92, 'Extravagantes', 17 septembre au 4 novembre, 1269; Capasso, p. 11.

No. 32. Reg. Ang. No. 6 (1269 D) contd. f. 113 t.

1269, 20 December, Ind. XIII, Naples

Pro Comite Celani de licentia portandi bona que habuit in Comitatu Molisii.

Karolus etc., Universis presentibus etc., Noverit universitas vestra quod nos nobilis viri Rogerii Celani Comitis fidelis nostri supplicationibus inclinati presentium sibi tenore duximus concedendum, ut officiales quondam comitatus Molisii vel nuntii sui possint granum, vinum, oleum, ordeum, mileum et quodcumque genus victualium et leguminum necnon porcos et alia quecumque animalia seseque moventia ac alia bona omnia que habet in Comitatu Molisii, necnon quecumque bona Mathei de Sagello (*sic: corr.* Agello) militis familiaris sui absque aliquo jure doane mercatoribus vel aliis quibuscumque personis in Comitatu Molisii vel extra comitatum ipsum per Regnum nostrum ubi eis placuerit de nostro beneplacito et mandato salvo jure siquid exinde a mercatoribus vel emptoribus ipsis Curie nostre debetur, proviso quod bona ipsa extra Regnum nostrum nullatenus extrahantur, Presentibus post duos menses etc. In cujus rei etc. Datum Neapoli, XX° Decembris, XIII[e] Indictionis, Regni nostri anno quinto.

Cit. *I Conti*, p. 146, n. 7.

De Lellis VI, p. 187: Nobili Rogerio Celani Comiti provisio quod ei liceat, et Matthaeo de Agello militi familiari suo vendere victualia et animalia, quae habuit in Comitatu Molisii absque aliqua Jure Dohanae. [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 262: ff. 102–115, 'Extravagantes', octobre 1269 au 25 janvier 1270; II, p. 45, Actes gracieux; Capasso, p. 11.

No. 33. Reg. cit. f. 175. 1270, 11 January, Ind. XIII, Capua

Pro revocando comitatus Mollisii.

Karolus etc., Secretis Principatus, Terre Laboris et Aprutii fidelibus etc.

Pub. *I Conti*, p. 177, Appendix No. 14; and cit. *ibid*, p. 145, n. 3.

De Lellis VI, p. 208: Provisio pro reincorporatione Regie Curie de Comitatu Molisii quod per excadentias et devolutionem pervenit ad manus Curiae, f. 175. [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 262: f. 175, 'Secretis Principatus, Terre Laboris et Aprucii', 6 au 12 janvier, 1270; Capasso, p. 11.

No. 34. Reg. cit. f. 175. 1270, 11 January, Ind. XIII, Capua

Pro revocatione Serre Capriole.

Simili modo et forma scriptum est Secreto Apulie de revocatione Serrecapriole et totis aliis terris et locis que sunt de demanio Comitatus predicti in sua Jurisdictione sistentibus et terris et casalibus que de Baronia ejusdem Comitatus cum juribus et pertinentiis suis, nec non jura quelibet que debebantur olim per Barones et pheudatarios, dicti comitatus comitibus olim dominis comitatus predicti debeat revocare etc. ut supra. [E. M. J.

Cit. *I Conti*, p. 147 n. 2; cf. *ibid.* p. 149; E. Sthamer, *Bruchstücke mittelalterlicher Enqueten aus Unteritalien*, p. 93 (Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1933, Phil.-hist. Kl. 2) Berlin, 1933.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 35. Reg. Ang. No. 6 (1269 D) contd. f. 175.
1270, 12 January, Ind. XIII, Capua

Scriptum est eisdem. Quia nuper Serenitas nostra audivit quod Comes Rogerius de Celano de demanio et baroniis Comitatus Molisii nuper ad manus nostre Curie racionabiliter devolutis, quasdam terras, casalia et loca alia quibusdam concesserat, que non sunt eisdem per nostram excellentiam confirmata, fidelitati vestre iterum precipientes, de premissis et de annuo valore ipsorum personaliter inquiratis vel per vestrum judicem faciatis diligenter inquiri et omnia que invenerunt dictum Comitem de demanio et baronia dicti comitatus aliquibus concessisse, ad opus nostre Curie, preter ea que aliquibus sunt per excellentiam nostram concessa ad opus nostre Curie, revocetis, ipsa in antea pro parte Curie procurantes. De quorum revocatione fieri faciatis tria puplica consimilia instrumenta, quorum unum penes vos retineatis, reliquum ad cameram nostram et tercium ad magistros racionales curie nostre cum inquisitione predicta et rubricis inde affirmandis sub sigillis vestris [transmittatis]. Datum Capue XII° Januarii, XIII indictionis. [E. M. J.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 36. Reg. Ang. No. 7, Liber Donationum, f. 49. 1270, 27 March, Ind. XIII, Capua

XXVII° Marcii, XIII^e^ Indictionis, aput Capuam

Concessum est Adenulfo filio Johannis comitis Romanorum proconsulis et heredibus suis ex ipsius corpore legitime descendentibus, ad valorem unciarum auri octaginta.

Castrum Limosani quod est de Comitatu Molisii pro unciis LXXX.

Ita tamen quod de demanio et baronia ipsuis Castri idem Adenulfus tantum habeat Castrum ipsum, et nichil aliud habere debeat de baronia predicta, et quod non respondeatur sibi a baronibus et pheodotariis ipsius baronie nisi de hiis tantum que intus in dicto Castro forte tenent aliqui barones et pheodotarii de baronia predicta. Et si aliqui barones et pheodotarii sunt in dicto Castro et pertinentiis ejus qui servire in capite nostre Curie teneantur in nostro demanio et dominio reserventur, ita quod tam ipse quam predicti heredes sui dictum Castrum a nobis nostrisque in Regno Sycilie heredibus et successoribus perpetuo in capite teneant et possideant, nullumque exinde alium preter nos heredes et successores nostros predictos superiorem aut dominum recognoscant, pro quo utique Castro ab eodem Adenulfo ligium homagium et fidelitatis recepimus juramentum, retentis nobis et predictis in Regno nostro heredibus et successoribus juramentis fidelitatis baronum pheodotariorum si qui sunt ibidem et universorum hominum ejusdem Castri que nobis et ipsis nostris heredibus et successoribus [precise contra omnem hominem prestabuntur]. . . . [E. M. J.

Cit. G. V. Ciarlanti, *Memorie historiche del Sannio*, Isernia, 1644, lib. IV. p. 358; G. M. Galanti, *Descrizione dello Stato antico ed attuale del Contado di Molise*, Napoli, 1781, quotes a further passage prohibiting the erection of a fortress in the *castrum*, p. 70.

Durrieu I, p. 264: ff. 4–84, 'In justiciariatu Terre Laboris et Comitatus Molisii', 6 décembre 1268 au 22 mars 1273; Capasso, p. 13.

No. 37. Reg. Ang. No. 8 (1270 B) f. 20 t. 1280, 27 March, Ind. VIII, Capua

Guillelmo Extandardo militi familiari provisio pro extractione salmarum frumenti 200 deferendarum ad terras Paliologi inimici nostri et si deferatur apud Tunisium vel Bugeam responsales licteras trahat de vicario regis Tunisii; si vero ad Acon a nobili viro Rogerio de Sancto Severino nostro vicario in regno Jerosolimitano . . . et a magistro militum domus Templi ibidem; si apud Clarentiam a Galaramo de Ivriaco regni Sicilie senescallo et in principatu Achaye capitaneo . . . et si ad alias partes a rectoribus locorum juxta alium mandatum nostrum, etc. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 265: ff. 20–31, 'Magister procurator et portulanus Apulie et Aprucii', 2 septembre 1279 au 8 avril 1280; Capasso, p. 14.

No. 38. Reg. cit. f. 26 t. 1280, 2 January Ind. VIII, Naples

Guillelmo Extandardo militi familiari provisio pro extractione salmarum frumenti 200, *as in N° 37 above*. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 39. Reg. cit. f. 31. 1280, 8 April, Ind. VIII. Torre S. Erasmo

Portulano Apulie—pro Jordano de Sancto Felice capitaneo insule Corphoy—pro equis et armis extrahendis. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 40. Reg. cit, f. 139. 1280, 9 April, Ind. VIII, Torre S. Erasmo

Portulanis Brundusii pro comestabulo Principatus Achaye (Johanne Calderono *ed.*). [Summary, B. M.

Cit. Carabellese, *Carlo I d'Angio nei rapporti . . . con Venezia e l'Oriente*, p. 37, n. (1) from Reg. 8, f. 139, 'portulanis Brundusii . . . Iohannem Caldaronum principatus Achaye comestabulum . . . frumenti salm. quinquaginta . . . ad partes Achaye pro usu familie' etc., but without date of the month; J. A. C. Buchon, *Recherches historiques sur la principauté française de Morée*, Paris, 1845, vol. I, p. 223, n. 1, published from the same folio a document dated the previous day, 8 April, addressed to the same 'Portulanis Brundusii', granting permission to the Constable of the Principality of Achaia to export wheat and barley for the use of his household and servants.

Durrieu I, p. 265: ff. 139–146, 'Magistri procuratores et portulani Apulie et Aprucii', 10 avril au 24 juillet 1280; Capasso, p. 14.

No. 41. Reg. cit. f. 146. 1280, 14 July, Ind. VIII, Melfi

Magistris procuratoribus et portulanis Apulie et Aprucii—pro nuncio capitanei Curphoy (Jordani Sancti Felicis *ed.*) (ut supra). [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 42. Reg. cit. f. 172 t. 1281, 28 June, Ind. IX, Orvieto

Mandate to the Master Procurator and Portulan of Abruzzo ordering him to restore to Oddo of Pettorano, knight, the fourth part of Castrocarcere and the sixth part of Pescocostanza, which had been taken until he made payment duplicati addoamenti ad rationem de unciis auri viginti

pro quolibet pheodo integro vel infra secundum quotam ipsius pheodi demidii . . . Datum apud Urbem veterem XXVIII Junii. [E. M. J.

De Lellis I: Oddoni de Pectorano militi, provisio pro restitutione quarte partis Castri Carceris et sexte partis Pescliconstantii in Aprutio ei ablatarum occasione duplicati Adohamenti non soluti, quod duplicatum jam solvit. [E. M. J.

Durrieu, p. 265; ff. 160–173, 'Procuratoribus Apulie et Aprucii', 3 sept. 1280 au 2 août 1281; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 43. Reg. Ang. No. 10 (1271 B) f. 40 t. ? 1271

De Lellis I, p. 508: Nobili Rogerio Comiti Celani, provisio pro solutione gagiorum servientium castrorum Piczuli, Frontini et Introduci, quorum custodiam dictus Comes tenet. f. 40 t°. [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 269: f. 34–46, 'Secreto Principatus, Terre Laboris et Aprucii', 30 novembre 1270 au 31 juillet 1271; Capasso, p. 17.

No. 44. Reg. cit. f. 64. 1270, 2 December, Ind. XIV, Trapani

Commissio facta super inquirendis, inveniendis et capiendis bonis et rebus nauffragii.

Scriptum est Simoni de Bosco, Guillelmo de Sectays, Guillelmo Vicaldi presbitero et notario Pagano de Florentia. Cum de fide vestra ac industria etc. vero super inquirendis et capiendis ad opus Curie nostre quibuscumque speciebus lignaminum, ferri et corredi vassellorum ex eodem naufragio confractorum necnon nobis aliis quibuscumque ex naufragio ipso ammissis, pro parte nostre Curie duxerimus statuendis, fidelitati vestre sub obtentu gratie nostre districte precipiendo mandamus quatenus arbores, antennas, ancoras, assarcias et alia cujuscumque speciei lignamina et affissos, ferrum et corredum vassellorum ipsorum passorum naufragio, necnon turssellos, ballas, cassas, scrinea, aurum et argentum et alia quecumque bona et res et certumque manerici in eodem naufragium ammissa inquireret et caperet pro parte nostre Curie debeatis. Et ea Matheo Rufulo secreto et magistro portulano Sicilie dilecto etc. pro parte nostre Curie integre assignare detentores quoslibet ad restitucionem eorum cohercione debita compellentes, nec forsitan vassella aliqua passa naufragio propterea fuerint et non conducticia magnifici domini P[hilippi] illustris Regis Francie etc. vel crucisignatorum, et res in naufragio ammisse fuerint eorumdem ad quorum captionem si ea vobis legitime ipsorum esse costiterit, nolumus vos occasione presente extendere manus Vestras et potius restituere dominis eorumdem. Si vero tursellos et ballas, cassas aut scrinia ejusdem naufragii per aliquem virum semotim inveniri et capi contigerit, tursellos et ballas dissolvi et scrinia vel cassas nolumus aperiri: vero omnes presentialiter intersitis vel due partes ad minus de vobis. Ita tamen quod predictus notarius Paganus qui omnibus et singulis interesse volumus in scriptis per ejus cartularia bona inventa nostre valeat Curie assignare. De inventione vero et captione omnium que vos inveniri contigerit de bonis et rebus predictis tria inventaria similia fieri faciatis; quorum uno penes vos retento, alio magistris rationalibus Magne nostre Curie assignato, tercium ad nostram cameram destinetis. Receptis de hiis que dicto secreto assignaveritis scripta competencia ad cautelam super quibus taliter vestra sollicitudo vigilet ut studium etc. Datum ut supra.

(In the margin, on a level with 'aurum et argentum' is written: Item rescripta

revocatis dictis Simoni de Bosco et Guillelmo de Sectays et substituto in eodem officio loco ipsorum Johanne de Corneo milite.) [A. W. J.

See G. B. Siragusa, *Il Regno di Guglielmo I in Sicilia*, Palermo, 1929, p. 289 and 433 for a letter referring to the same subject and persons and written on the same day, transcribed from f. 63 t. of the Register and preserved in Bibl. Comunale di Palermo, Qq. G. 2, p. 60; cf. *post* No. 50.

Durrieu I, p. 269: ff. 63–88, 'Secreto Sicilie et vicesecretis, et vicario Sicilie', 27 novembre 1270 au 31 juillet, 1271; Capasso, p. 17.

No. 45. Reg. Ang. No. 10 (1271 B) contd. f. 102 t. 1270–1271

De Lellis I: Commissio Capitanerie terrarum Matricis (Amatrice, prov. Rieti, *ed.*) Arguate (Arquata del Tronto, prov. Ascoli Piceno, *ed.*) Camponisci (Villa Camponeschi, prov. Rieti, *ed.*) et Radisci. [B. M.

Durrieu I, 269: ff. 89–145, 'Extravagantes', 24 novembre 1270 au 28 juillet 1271; Capasso, p. 17.

No. 46. Reg. cit. f. 115 t. (2). 1270–1271

De Lellis I, p. 535: Rogerio Comiti Celani provisio contra Thomasium de Aquino Comitem Acerrarum super certis terris Comitatus Celani, f. 115 t°. il 2^do^. [E. M. J.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 47. Reg. cit. f. 127 t. 1270–1271

De Lellis I, p. 541: Roberto filio quondam Raynaldi comestabuli de Venafro, Commissio officii Comestabuli dicte Civitatis ad testimonium nobilium Rogerii de Sancto Severino, Marsici, et Rogerii Celani Comitum, f. 127 t°. [E. M. J.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 48. Reg. cit. f. 132 t. 1271, 8 May, Ind. XIV, Isernia

Scriptum est universis hominibus Avellini etc. leniter devocio nostra ferat nec egre suscipiat vel moleste si mutuum pro parte nostra per Justiciarium nostrum ab universitate vestra requiratur, cum ad id non thesaurizandum cupiditas, nec quivis amor habendi alius nostros inducat, sed cogamur inniti propter inopinabilium onera expensarum, que dudum subivimus, prosequendo una cum quondam illustre rege Francorum karissimo domino et fratre nostro et felici christianorum exercitu regem et saracenos Tunisii prout devenisse credimus ad manifestam noticiam singulorum que fere thesauros nostre camere vacuarent. Illud etiam incongruum esse non credimus, qualiter tunc karissimo domino et nepote nostro Rege Francorum illustre in Regno et eciam extra Regnum ad Curiam accedente Romanam pro summi creatione pontificis, que universali ecclesie et toto populo Christiano utilis et necessaria inito nuncupatur, necnon pro doaneriis factis militibus peregrinis redeuntibus in Franciam, qui in summis divinis magnos sumptus fecerunt, subire nos oportuit sumptus varios et necessarios expensarum nec minus eciam subire compellimus per alias necessitates multiplices et occursus adventicios diversi modo de incumbente devocione gratiam et fidelitatem vestram requirimus, mandantes expresse quatenus, totum id, quod per vos restitit, ad solvendum Curie nostre de generali subventione dudum vobis imposita de mandato et ordinacione magnifici viri domini Hugonis ducis Burgundie karissimi soceri nostri tunc a Faro citra in Regno vicarii generalis prefato justiciario ad requisitionem suam devote et ilariter nomine mutui exsolvatis ad dictam nostram cameram destinandum, et pro firmo

tenentem quod mutuum ipsum vobis excomputari mandabimus et quantitatem proxime future generalis subvencionis per nostram curiam imponendam, de cujus excomputacione ut nulla prorsus dubietas oriatur, id vobis per presentis majestatis nostre apices irrevocabiliter pollicemur et pro certo scire vos nolumus quod ad exactionem predicti mutui illius collationis continuacio sed sola necessitas nos inducat. Datum Ysernie VIII maii, XIIII indictionis. [A. W. J.

Summary, C. Minieri Riccio, *Il Regno di Carlo I d'Angiò negli Anni 1271 e 1272*, Naples, 1875, p. 18, n. 8.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 49. Reg. Ang. No. 10 (1271 B) contd. f. 188 t. 1271, before 5 June

De Lellis I, p. 765: Baronibus et feudatariis singulis pro subventione a Vassallis, quia adohamentum solverunt ad rationem unciarum 12 cum dimidia pro terra valente annuo uncias 20, f. 188 t°. [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 269: ff. 188–189, Apodixe délivréé à la suite d'un compte rendu par J. Rufulus, chargé de diverses missions, le 5 juin 1271; Capasso, p. 17: Ind. XIV (1270–1271) giugno, Apodixiarius, ff. 188–197; i ff. 188, 189 contengono un solo documento scritto verticalmente in un foglio di pergamena piegato per metà, e cosi legato nel volume.

No. 50. Reg. cit. f. 198. 1271, 24 February, Ind. XIV, Capua

(PRO CURIA) PRO VENDENDIS NAVIBUS ET REBUS TRAPANI

Scriptum est eidem (vicario Sicilie). Quia Simon de Bosco et Guillelmus de Sectays milites et Paganus de Florentia notarius, statuto (*sic, ed.*) dudum de mandato nostro super inquirendis, inveniendis et capiendis pro parte Curie nostre bonis et lignaminibus vassellorum, que dudum in portu Trapani naufragium passa fuerint, significaverint Curie nostre quod, statuti per te super recipiendis ab eis pro parte nostra rebus ipsis, quas, de mandato nostro tibi assignare debuerint, nolunt ab eis recipere quedam lignamina et res alias pro eo, quod dicunt ea commode servari non posse et fore alias inutiles ad servandum; fidelitati tue etc. quatenus predicta lignamina et res a dictis Simone et notario, qui pro eodem negocio Trapani remanserunt, dicto Guillelmo ad nostram curiam redeunte, in ea condicione et qualitate que sunt, recipi facias, et eadem, si servando gravari non poterunt nec sint utilia ad servandum, plus offerentibus vendi facias precio quo poteris meliori; attenta in hoc melioracione Curie nostre et servatis circa venditionem ipsorum subastatione debita et aliis sollepnitatibus debitis, que consueverunt et debent in venditione rerum fiscalium adhiberi, quorum precium ad Cameram nostram mittas. Datum Capue, XXIIII februarii, XIIII indictionis. [A. W. J.

Cf. *ante*, No. 44.

Durrieu I, p. 270: f. 198, 'Secreto Sicilie', 2 novembre au 23 février 1271 (but note that this document is dated 24 February); Capasso, p. 17: Ind. XIV (1270–1271) novembre—luglio, Secreto Sicilie vice secretis et Vicario Sicilie, ff. 63–88, 198.

No. 51. Reg. Ang. No. 11 (1271 C) f. 20. 1270

De Lellis I, p. 580: Provisiones *with reference to the payment of* adohamentum *in lieu of personal service in Achaya*, f. 20; cf. *the notice of a provision referring to similar payment, but without the use of the word* adohamentum, *in lieu of personal service in Romania in the lost Reg. Ang. 1271 A, f. 242 t, pub. Gli Atti perduti della Cancelleria angioina transuntati da Carlo De Lellis*, Parte I a cura B. Mazzoleni, vol. I, p. 248, no. 946 (Regesta Chartarum Italiae) Rome, 1943. [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 270: ff. 18–21, 'Just. Calabrie', 22 avril au 12 août 1270; Capasso, p. 18.

No. 52. Reg. Ang. No. 11 (1271 C) contd. f. 44.

1270, 22 April, Ind. XIII, Naples

PRO FRATRE BERLENGERIO

Scriptum est secreto Sicilie vel ejus locumtenenti in Messana. Cum nos religiosum virum fratrem Berlengarium (*sic*) de Ordine Predicatorum ejusque socium devotos nostros ad regem Tunisii cum aliis nostris ambassiatoribus specialiter destinemus, fidelitati tue etc. quatenus, statim receptis presentibus, sicut nostram gratiam karam habes et indignacionem nostri culminis desideras evitare, eidem fratri necnon socio ac quatuor pueris, si ad Guillelmum Standardum nostrum in Sicilia vicarium generalem ire voluerint vel elegerint, ad ipsum vicarium nuncios suos mictere et ipsum Messanam moram protrahere tam ipsis fratribus quam dictis pueris eorum ad eorum requisicionem de equitaturis et expensis causa in eundo ad dictum vicarium, quem Messane morando de quacumque pecunia Curie nostre offici tui, que est vel erit per manus tuas, eciam si id de tuo proprio mutuare deberes, providere procures, mandato aliquo contrario per quod presenti mandati execucio expediri valeat vel differri in aliqua non obstante. Sciturus quod, si secus prescripseris, id integraliter puniemus. Datum Neapoli, XXII aprilis, XIII indictionis. [A. W. J.

Cf. *ante*, No. 21.

Durrieu I, p. 270: ff. 44–48, 'Secreto Sicilie', 22 avril au 22 août 1270; Capasso, p. 18.

No. 53. Reg. cit. f. 90 t. 1270

De Lellis I, p. 608: Nobili Rogerio Comite Celani balio baroniae Amiterni provisio, f. 90 t°. [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 270: ff. 49–96, 'Extravagantes', 1er avril au 22 août 1270; Capasso, p. 18.

No. 54. Reg. Ang. No. 13 (1272 A) f. 229 t. 1272 ? February

De Lellis I: Provisio facta Roberto de Matricio de Suessa. [B. M.

Durrieu I, 274: ff. 227–231, 'Just. Aprucii', 28 janvier au 12 février 1272; Capasso, pp. 22–23, Ind. XV (1271–1272) gennaio-febbraio, Iustitiario Aprutii, De privatis, ff. 227–231.

No. 55. Reg. Ang. No. not noted in the transcript.

De Lellis I: Mandatum quod pro defensione patrie heres Agnei de Matricio *are to pay* uncias 5. [B. M.

No. 56. Reg. Ang. No. 14 (1272 B) f. 180. 1273, 9 October, Ind. II, Casalbore

Scriptum est Egidio de Sancto Liceto Justitiario Aprutii ultra flumen Piscarie. *Whereas we have heard that* quondam Comes Camerarius quedam Castra Baronie Amiterni et quedam castra Baronie quondam Gualterii de Celano nec non et quamplura bona pheodalia existentia in Valle Sorana, que fuerunt Petri de Valle Sorana et aliorum proditorum nostrorum ad jus nostre Curie pertinentia tenuit minus juste, *we order that an inquest be made into the rights of the case and into the names of those who held these lands previously of the said Count, the Chamberlain* . . . Datum Casalalbule, die ix° Octobris (IIe Indictionis). [E. M. J.

De Lellis I, p. 763: Justitiario Aprutii Ultra, mandatum quod revocet ad manus Curie Baroniam quondam Gualterii de Celano, et Petri de Valle Sorana, et aliorum proditorum, f. 180 t°. [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 275: ff. 179–182, 'Just. Aprucii ultra flumen Piscarie', 5 octobre au 5 novembre 1273; Capasso, p. 24.

No. 57. Reg. Ang. No. 14 (1272 B) contd. ff. 204, 269.
1273, 1 December, Ind. II, Corato

Scriptum est . . . Datum Caurati, 1° die Decembris, Ind. II.

Note: the same writ is given on both folios.

De Lellis I, p. 769: Philippo de Viridario et Constantio de Afflitto de Trano procuratoribus Comitatus Montis Caveosi quod fuit quondam Petri Domini Bellimontis Comitis Montis Caveosi Regni Siciliae camerarii et ibi baiulatio dicti Comitis. ff. 204, 269. [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 275: ff. 204–311, 'Extravagantes infra regnum, de curia', 30 novembre 1273 au 31 août 1274; Capasso, p. 24.

No. 58. Reg. Ang. No. 16 (1272 E) f. 148. 1345, 9 February, Ind. XIII

Scriptum est Hominibus Galliani, Castri Veteris . . . Datum M°CCC°XLV° die VIIII° Februarii, XIII[e] Indictionis.

De Lellis I, p. 894: Nobili Rogerio de Celano Celani Comiti prouisio in beneficium castrorum Galiani, Castri Veteris, et Cuculli de Comitatu predicto.

De Lellis at the head of the same page notes: Provisiones sequentes sunt sub titulo Aymerici Cardinalis an. 1344, Indictione 13[a]. [E. M. J.

Note: The reference is to a later Count Roger of Celano, known as 'Ruggerone'.

Durrieu I, p. 278: ff. 114–245 contain 25 fragments of documents later than the reign of Charles I, among them some of the year 1344–1345; Capasso, p. 27, Ind. XIII (1344–1345) settembre-genn. Iustitiariis Aprutii tam citra quam ultra flumen Piscarie, ff. 145–154; the document here quoted (from f. 148), is dated 9th February, but it cannot belong to the series immediately following 'Quaternus commissionum (*Cam.*)' to which Capasso attributes the dates settembre–febbr. of this same indiction, ff. 155–156.

No. 59. Reg. cit. f. 163, 165. 1289, 17 November, Ind. III, Andria

Extravagantes anni III Indictionis (f. 163).

Procuratores domini Oddonis Tuziaco.

Scriptum est . . . domino Jacobo Vultura de Salerno, Juris Civilis, et domino Landulfo Bulgano de Neapoli, utriusque Juris, professoribus etc. Cum vir egregius dominus Oddo de Tuziaco Regno Sicilie Magister Justiciarius intenderet nomine et pro parte nobilis mulieris domine Philippe consortis ejusdem, de comitatu Celani, contra heredem nobilis viri quondam domini Roggerii comitis Celani, seu balium aut procuratorem ejus ipsius nomine suam justiciam experiri, processit de beneplacito regio, ut licet ad Magistrum Justitiarium Regni Sicilie de talibus de jure spectaret cognitio, quia tamen non licebat ut dominus Oddo esset in causa hujusmodi pars et judex, committeretur hujusmodi cause cognicio viris sapientibus Jurisperitis, et ad hanc ydoneis procuratoribus eligendis. Cumque idem Magister Justitiarius nomine et pro parte ejusdem uxoris sue velit prosequi causam ipsam, nos de fide, prudencia et legalitate et sufficiencia vestra plenarie confidentes, cognicionem ipsius cause vobis duximus fiducialiter committendam . . .

Datum Andrie, die XVII Novembris, III[e] Indictionis. [E. M. J.

De Lellis I, p. 896: Prouisiones sequentes sunt titulo, viz. Robertus Comes Atrebacensis, et Carolus Primogenitus Illustris Regis Siciliae Princeps Salernitanus ac eius in Regno Siciliae Vicarius generalis, An. 3[e] Indictionis 1289. (This last figure is struck through, but it is repeated in the margin.)

id. p. 897, Dominis Jacobo Vultura de Salerno, et Landulfo Bulgano de Neapoli, U.J.P.P., commissio

cause, quae vertitur inter egregium dominum Odonem de Tucziaco magnum justitiarium, pro parte nobilis dominae Philippae uxoris suae (p. 898) de Comitatu Celani contra heredes quondam nobilis domini Rogerii Celani Comitis. f. 165, 172 t°. [E. M. J.

Cit. *I Conti*, p. 150, n. 1.

Durrieu I, p. 278 (see under No. 58); Capasso, p. 26, Ind. III (1289–1290) novembre-dic., Extravagantes, ff. 163–173.

No. 60. Reg. Ang. No. 16 (1272 E) contd. f. 172 t.

1289, 27 December, Ind. III, Naples

Pro[curatores Magistri] Justitiarii.

Scriptum est per eundem principem providis et sapientibus viris dominis Angelo de Scala et Liarinino (?) de Adria Juris Civilis professoribus etc. Cum vir egregius dominus Oddo de Tuziaco Sicilie magister Justiciarius intenderit nomine et pro parte nobilis mulieris domine Philippe comitisse Albe consortis ejus, pro eadem domina Philippa de comitatu Celani de possessione ipsius contra Thomasellum, qui se gerit pro herede nobilis viri quondam domini Roggerii comitis Celani, seu reverendum patrem Episcopum Marsicanum et discretum virum Abbatem Mattheum de Celano bajulos per curiam sibi datos aut procuratores ejus ipsius nomine, nec non contra Gentilem de Amiterno et fratres de Castro Corbani sito in Aprucio, suam justiciam petitorio aut possessorio judicio experiri, processit de beneplacito regis, qui vobis hoc commisit et specialiter mandavit, ut licet ad Magistrum Justiciarium Regni Sicilie de talibus de jure spectaret cognicio, quia tamen non decebat ut dominus Oddo esset in causis hujusmodi quodamodo pars et judex, committeremus cognitionem ipsarum causarum viris sapientibus jurisperitis et ad hoc ydoneis per curiam eligendis. Cumque idem Magister Justiciarius nomine et pro parte ejusdem uxoris sue seu eadem uxor sua velit prosequi causas ipsas, nos de fide, prudencia et legalitate et sufficientia vestra plenarie confidentes, cognicionem ipsarum causarum vobis duximus fiducialiter committendam. Quare . . . predictis . . . partibus in . . . presentia constitutis, causas ipsas usque ad sententiam ducendam presentium auditis, processum per vos habendum in eis nobis fideliter rescriptum, ut hujusmodi processu habito decisione ipsarum aliquibus aliis ad hoc ydoneis committamus Datum Neapoli, die XXVII Decembris, III[e] Indictionis. [E. M. J.

Cf. De Lellis I, p. 898, *supra* No. 59.

Cit. *I Conti*, p. 150, n. 1.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 61. Reg. cit. f. 225. 1309, 13 June, Ind. VII

Pro comite Celani ex una parte et domino Raynaldo et Gentile de Sangro ex alia.

Scriptum est Mattheo Comiti de Surrento Magne regie Curie Magistro Rationali, etc. In causa . . . Magne regie curie appellationum . . . inter nobilem virum Thomasium comitem Celani ex parte una, et dominum Raynaldum et Gentilem de Sangro fratres ex alia de castro Cuculli cum hominibus, juribus . . . Anno Domini M°CCCVIIIJ°, die XIII° Junii, VII[e] Indictionis. [E. M. J.

De Lellis I, p. 911, notes: Prouisiones sequentes sunt de an. 1306; p. 912, Nobili domino Thomasio Comiti Celani, prouisio contra dominum Raynaldum et Gentilem de Sangro, fratres, de questione castri Cuculli in Aprutio citra, quae uertitur coram domino Jordano de Sancto Felice, J.C.P. Magnae Curiae Appellationum Judici. [E. M. J.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, p. 27, Ind. VII (1308–1309) giugno, Extravagantes infra regnum, ff. 225–6.

No. 62. Reg. Ang. No. 17 (1272 XV ind.) f. 17 t. (old foliation CIX t.).
1272, 29 May, Ind. XV, Rome

(De Matrimoniis).

Pro Stephano de Anglono et Thomasella filia Gregorii Caraczuli.

Item in simili forma scriptum est universis pro Stephano de Anglono, filii (*sic*) quondam Odorisii de Anglono, et Thomasella, filia Gregorii Caraczuli de Neapoli, cum bonis mobilibus tantum, ad testimonium magistri Berardi de Neapoli, domini pape notarii, et Thomasii de Fasanella. Datum Rome per M.S. (magistrum Symonem de Parisiis) etc. XXVIIII madii (XV indictionis). [B. M.

De Lellis I: Stephano de Anglono filio Odorisii de Anglono similis (assensus super matrimonio) cum Thomacella filia Gregorii Caraczuli de Neapoli, f. 109 t. [B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 279: ff. 17–19, 'De matrimoniis', 22 février au 28 août 1272; *ibid.* II, p. 65–66; Capasso, p. 28: Ind. XV (1271–1272) febbraio-agosto, De matrimoniis, ff. 17–19.

No. 63. Reg. cit. f. (not noted). 1272, 29 May, Ind. XV, Rome

Pro Guillelmo de Anglono et Sinibalda filia quondam Bartholomei Caraczuli de Neapoli.

Item similiter scriptum est universis pro Guillelmo de Anglono, filio quondam Stephani de Anglono, et Sinibalda filia quondam Bartholomei Caraczuli de Neapoli, cum bonis mobilibus tantum ad testimonium eorumdem. Datum Rome per M.S. (magistrum Symonem de Parisiis) etc., XXIX madii (XV indictionis). [B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 64. Reg. Ang. No. 18 (1273 A), f. 166. 1274

De Lellis I, p. 946; Nobili Rogerio Comiti Celani, prouisio contra uassallos suos, quod redeant ad habitandum f. 166 il primo.

Cit. *I Conti*, p. 148, n. 1. [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 280: ff. 160–166—'Just. Aprucii ultra flumen'—11 novembre 1273 au 8 juillet 1274; Capasso, p. 29.

No. 65. Reg. cit. f. 166 t. 1274

De Lellis I, p. 946; Eidem (Rogerio Comiti Celani) prouisio pro feudali seruitio, et pro subuentione a Vassallis, Berardo de Montino militi, Raynaldo, et Gualterio de Montino fratribus, Sibiliae relictae quondam Thomasij de Amiterno, Gentili de Pesclo, Simoni, et Gentili militibus, Jacobo nepoti eiusdem Gentilis, et Lucae de Bifero, Fortibracchia de Romagna, et Gualterio de Aquauiua militibus, f. 166 t° il primo. [E. M. J.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 66. Reg. Ang. No. 21 (1274 B) f. 146 t. ? 1273–74

De Lellis II, p. 31: Loisio de Montefusculo militi provisio pro subventione a vassallis quia solvit adohamentum ad rationem unciarum 12 et dimidiae pro feudo valente annuo uncias 20. f. 146 t°. [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 284: ff. 145–150, 'Just. Basilicate', 6 décembre 1273 au 28 août 1274; Capasso, p. 34.

No. 67. Reg. cit. f. 196 t. 1275

De Lellis II: Riccardo de Matricio de Suessa primogenito quondam Goffridi de Matricio assecuratio vassallorum feudalium in Suessa per obitum dicti eius patris. [B. M.

Cf. *post*, No. 109 and No. 146.

Durrieu I, p. 284: ff. 181–210, 'Just. Terre Laboris', 18 février au 28 août 1275; Capasso, p. 34.

No. 68. Reg. Ang. No. 22 (1275 A) f. 30. ? 1276

De Lellis II, p. 115: Nobili Oddoni de Tucziaco militi familiario provisio pro feudatariis comitatus sui Albae f. 30. [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 285: ff. 1–30, 'Justiciario Aprucii', 2 septembre 1275—27 août 1276; Capasso, p. 35.

No. 69. Reg. cit. f. 45 1275, 13 December, Ind. IV (Naples)

De Lellis II, p. 123: Universis feudatariis Latinis citatio ad comparendum in mostra, videlicet illi qui tenent feudalia annuo valore unciarum 20 et ultra compareant personaliter; et qui tenent feudalia infra uncias 20 annuo valore solvant adohamentum ad rationem unciarum 12 et dimidiae de singulis unciis 20 redituum eorundem sub die 13 Decembris, 4e Indictionis, f. 45. [E. M. J.

Cf. C. Minieri Riccio, 'Il Regno di Carlo I d'Angiò, 1273–1285', *A.S.I.* 3ª serie, t. XXIV, 1876, p. 397(13)–398 for a summary from the same register and folio of letters to all the Justiciars of the continental part of the kingdom ordering the Latin barons and feudatories as well as the 'ultramontani' to appear with arms and horses at the 'monstra' at San Germano on 16 January, 1276. Note: the general muster was to be at San Germano or Aquino except for the feudatories of the Abruzzi, who were to go to Sulmona. Cf. *ante*, No. 6; *post*, No. 86 and No. 110.

Durrieu I, p. 285: ff. 31–56, 'Just. Terre Laboris et Comitatus Molisii', 1er septembre 1275 au 30 août 1276; Capasso, p. 35.

No. 70. Reg. cit. f. 46 t, il primo. 1275 ? Ind. IV

De Lellis II, p. 124: Eidem Justitiario (Terre Laboris et Comitatus Molisii) mandatum quod inquirat quomodo castrum Montis Milii pervenit ad Comitem Celanensem, f. 46 to il po. [E. M. J.

Cf. *post*, No. 71.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 71. Reg. Ang. No. 23 (1275 B) f. 72 = LXXII.
1275, 26 December, Ind. IV, Naples

De Lellis II, p. 205: Nobili Rogerio Comiti Celani, mandatum quod mittat litteras originales, quas habuit super Castro Montis miluli f. 72.

The register supplies no further information in the very brief mandate: dat. ut supra, i.e. Neapoli, XXVI Decembris, IIIIe Indictionis. For the 'original letters' cf. *ante* No. 70, Reg. Ang. No. 22 (1275 A) f. 46 t, il primo. [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 286: ff. I–CXXVI, 'Extravagantes infra regnum', 1er septembre 1275 au 28 août 1276; Capasso, p. 36.

No. 72. Reg. Ang. No. 24 (1275 C) f. 64. ? 1275–6

De Lellis II, p. 260: Et in hac forma fuit expedita provisio Herrico de Castro Ilderis supra in fol. 64. [E. M. J.

This extract is given by De Lellis joined to the provision for eleven feudatories, mentioned by name, 'contumacibus in praestandum servitium pro inquisitione valoris feudalium eorum', which he took from f. 65 of the Register. The provision for these feudatories is published among the documents from 'I fogli perduti' p. 128, No. 968, in *Atti perduti*, I, ii, but the extract now printed was omitted, as it would seem, because f. 64 was at the time of publication preserved in the 'Nuovi registri angioini' (cf. *Atti perduti*, I, ii, p. 125, n. 1).

Durrieu I, p. 286 ends this register with f. 54, and does not refer to the further ff. 55, 60, 63, 64, 67 e 69 which were in the 'Nuovi registri angioini' (I, f. 11–17); for ff. 31–54 he gives the rubric 'Magistris procuratoribus et magistris portulanis regni tam citra quam ultra Farum', 1er septembre au 31 décembre 1275; Capasso, p. 37.

No. 73. REG. ANG. No. 25 (1276 A) f. 185 t. = CLXXXV t. ? 1277

De Lellis II, i, p. 301: Rogerio Comiti Celani tenenti Comitatum Celani similis (i.e. assensus super matrimonio) cum Maria sorore Thomasii de Aquino milite, filii quondam Adenulfi de Aquino, f. 185 t°. [E. M. J.

Cit. *I Conti*, p. 149, n. 5.

Durrieu I, p, 287: f. CLXXXV–CLXXXVI—'Matrimonia'—26 décembre 1276 au 28 août 1277; Capasso, p. 38 gives the folios as 185–196, an error for 186.

No. 74. REG. ANG. No. 26 (1276 B) f. 40 t. 1276 (?)

De Lellis II, p. 326: Thomasiae de Palearea Comitisse Manuppelli, Burrello de Bisaciis, et Petro de Grele, prouisio pro feudali seruitio, f. 40, et ibi mentio quod quicumque habuerit Terram ualentem uncias 20 in quo ualorem feudum unius militis ad seruitium trium mensium consistebat antiquitus, et consistit, soluat uncias 12 et medietatem, et si minus, soluat pro rata, f. 40 t°. [E. M. J.

Durrieu, p. 289: ff. 38–85, 'Magistri procuratores et magistri portulani regni, tam citra quam ultra Farum', 1er septembre 1276 au 29 août 1277; Capasso, p. 39.

No. 75. REG. CIT. f. 76 t. 1277, 10 August, Ind. V, Lagopesole

Magistris procuratoribus et portulanis Sicilie quod faciant onerare duas naves cum frumento et aliis victualibus et ipsas aput Accon mictere studeant Rogerio de Sancto Severino pro facto Jerusalem. [Summary, I. M.

Cit. A. de Saint-Priest, *Histoire de la Conquête de Naples par Charles d'Anjou*, III. p. 291, n. 2 'Dix diplômes datés de Lagopesole, 1277'. These include the present No. and Nos. 76–80, 88, 91; Sir George Hill, *History of Cyprus*, II, Cambridge, 1948, p. 190, and n. 2.

Durrieu I, p. 289: ff. 38–85, 'Magistri procuratores et magistri portulani Regni, tam citra quam ultra Farum', 1 septembre 1276 au 29 août 1277; Capasso, p. 39.

No. 76. REG. CIT. f. 76 t.–77. 1277, 10 August, Ind. V, Lagopesole

Magistris portulanis et procuratoribus Apulie et Aprutii, pro recipiendis victualibus et emendis quibusdam rebus mictendis cum diversis navibus specifice notatis aput Acon Rogerio de Sancto Severino in regno Jerosolimitano vicario. [Summary I. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 77. REG. CIT. f. 77. 1277, 12 August, Ind. V, Lagopesole

The same. [I. M.

No. 78. REG. CIT. f. 78 t. 1277, 12 August, Ind. V, Lagopesole

Magistris procuratoribus et portulanis Sicilie ut reperiant duas de melioribus navibus privatarum in defectu navium curie pro mictendis victualibus aput Accon Rogerio de Sancto Severino in regno Jerosolimitano vicario ad execucionem servicii regni. [Summary I. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 79. REG. CIT. f. 79 et t. 1277, 14 August, Ind. V, Lagopesole

The same. [I. M.

No. 80. Reg. Ang. No. 26 (1276 B) contd. f. 80.

1277, 15 August, Ind. V, Lagopesole

Magistris procuratoribus et portulanis Sicilie etc, ut incontinenter onerari faciant tres naves pro mictendo frumento in Accon aput Rogerium de Sancto Severino in regno Jerosolimitano vicario. [Summary I. M.

Two documents.

Durrieu, *ibid.*: Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 81. Reg. cit. f. 106. 1277–1278, Ind. VI

De Lellis II, p. 342: Bracchio filio quondam Goffridi de Foce provisio contra Oddonem de Tucciaco militem dominum Comitatus Albae, molestantem eum in Castro Podii Sancti Blasii, fol. 106. [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 289: ff. 86–117, 'Just. Aprucii', 1er septembre 1277 au 28 août 1278; Capasso, p. 39, f. 86–117, Ind. VI (1277–1278) settembre-agosto.

No. 82. Reg. cit. f. 121. 1277, 3 November, Ind. VI, Foggia

Pro Francisco de Sancto Agapito et sociis—de Curia.

Scriptum est etc. Supplicaverunt excellentie nostre Franciscus de Sancto Agapito, Thomasius de Castro Pignano, Petrus de Luparia, Symon de Sancto Angelo . . . Datum Fogie, die III novembris, VI indictionis.

De Lellis II: Francisco de Sancto Agapito etc, Petro de Luparia provisio pro adiunctione infrascriptorum baronum. [B. M.

Durrieu, p. 289: ff. 118–150, 'Just. Terre Laboris et Comitatus Molisii', 5 septembre 1277 au 28 août 1278; Capasso, p. 39.

No. 83. Reg. cit. f. 130 t. 1278, 4 March, Ind. VI, Capua

Scriptum est etc. Pro parte Gemme mulieris vidue, domine Luparie, fidelis nostre fuit expositum coram nobis quod licet ad tuum in officio precessorem sub certa forma mandatum a nostra curia emanavit etc. etc. . . . Datum Capue, IV martii, VIe indictionis. [B. M.

De Lellis II: Gemme vidue domine Luparie provisio pro teridis, f. 130 t. [B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 84. Reg. cit. f. 131. 1278, 26 February, Ind. VI, Capua

Pro Duraquila muliere.

Scriptum est etc. Pridem Duraquilam mulierem, filiam quondam Riccardi de Cantalupo, legitime ac peremptorie citari mandavimus ad petitionem Gemme de Luparia mulieris vidue ut in certo etc. responsura eidem Gemme, ipsam convenire volenti, viduarum privilegio permictente, quod cum teneret et possideret casale Sancti Angeli in Altissimis, situm in comitatu Molisii cum hominibus, tenimentis et pertinenciis suis, Monachi Sancte Sophie de Benevento propria auctoritate et per violentiam destituerunt et destitui fecerunt eandem Gemmam possessione casalis ejusdem et sic, ex causa destitucionis ejusdem, possessio casalis ipsius pervenit ad monasterium supradictum, ac postmodum abbas et conventus ejusdem monasterii concesserunt casale ipsum

Rogerio et Oderisio et quondam Riccardo de Cantalupo fratribus, tenendum ad annuum redditum a monasterio supradicto, et quia non comparuit in termino etc. notario Bartholomeo de Limosano, procuratore ipsius vidue in judicio comparente, et ipsius citati contumaciam incusante dicti vicemagister justiciarius etc. ad tertiam partem etc. condepnarunt decernentes dictam viduam seu procuratorem ejus pro ea fore ponendam in possessione tercie partis dicti casalis cum hominibus, tenimentis et pertinenciis suis, cause rei servande donec etc. Quocirca fidelitati etc. quod omnia bona mobilia inquirat et capiat tertiam et assignet magistro procuratore Curie in decreta etc. eandem viduam seu procuratorem ejus pro ea in possessione tertie partis dicti casalis cum hominibus etc. nichilominus inducturus causa rei servande donec etc. de inquisicione vero etc. Datum Capue, XXVI februarii [VI^{e} indictionis]. [B. M.

Cit. E. Jamison, *Notes on Santa Maria della Strada at Matrice, its History and Sculpture* (*Papers of the British School at Rome*, XIV, 1938), p. 40, n. 46; cf. *post*, Nos. 95 and 143.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 85. Reg. Ang. No. 26 (1276 B) Contd. f. 233.
1279, 2 September, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Pro cancellario Achaye. De mittendis victualibus. [Summary B. M.

For Leonard of Veroli, Chancellor of Achaia, see Cerone, *op. cit. passim* and especially XLI, pp. 11, 12, 22, 231, 232, 250, 251 and XLII, pp. 5, 6, 7, 10.

Durrieu I, p. 289: ff. 232–326, 'Extravagantes infra regnum', 2 septembre 1279 au 27 mars, 1280; Capasso, p. 39

No. 86. Reg. Ang. No. 27 (1276–1277 A) f. 83 t. 1276–7, Ind. V

De Lellis II, p. 436: Nobili Rogerio Comiti Celani provisio pro adohamento Castri sui Serre Capriolae quia comparuit in monstra coram Amelio de Corbano militi familiare in Sulmona f. 83 t^{0}. [E. M. J.

Cit. *I Conti*, p. 149, n. 2.

Durrieu, p. 290: ff. 73–93—'Just. Capitanate'—4 septembre 1276 au 31 août 1277; Capasso, p. 40, Ind. V. 1276–1277, settembre-agosto, Iust. Capitanate, ff. 73–93.

No. 87. Reg. Ang. No. 28 (1277 F) f. 17 t. 1278, 3 February, Ind. VI, Belvedere

Mauro Rufulo vice secreto Apulie quod mictat apud Acon ad nobilem virum Rogerium de Sancto Severino in regno Jerosolimitano vicarium victualia, legumina etc. in vassellis idoneis. [Summary I. M.

Durrieu I, p. 290: ff. 12–25, 'Secreto Apulie', 2 sept. 1277 au 23 août 1278; Capasso, p. 41.

No. 88. Reg. cit. f. 36. 1277, 6 September, Ind. VI, Lagopesole

Magistris procuratoribus et portulanis Apulie et Aprucii pro emendis porcis mictendis apud Acon cum vassellis necessariis Rogerio de Sancto Severino in Regno Jerosolimitano vicario pro nostris serviciis ibidem. [Summary I. M.

Durrieu I, p. 290: ff. 35–116, 'Magistri procuratores et portulani', 1er septembre 1277 au 31 août 1278; Capasso, p. 41.

No. 89. Reg. Ang. No. 28 (1277 F) contd. f. 36 t.

1277, 6 September, Ind. VI, Lagopesole

Magistris procuratoribus et portulanis Sicilie pro curia et navibus mictendis cum vino in Accon apud Rogerium de Sancto Severino pro serviciis regiis. [Summary I. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 90. Reg. cit. f. 37 t. 1277, 10 September, Ind. VI, Lagopesole

Magistris portulanis et procuratoribus Apulie et Aprucii pro navibus mictendis apud Accon pro negocio Curie ad Rogerium de Sancto Severino in regno Jerosolimitano vicarium. [Summary I. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 91. Reg. cit. f. 42 et t. 1277, 23 September, Ind. VI, Melfi

Magistris portulanis et procuratoribus Apulie et Aprucii pro mictendis victualibus aput Acon Rogerio de Sancto Severino in Regno Jerosolimitano vicario pro serviciis nostris expressis.

(*Two documents*) [Summary I. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 92. Reg. cit. f. 63 t. 1278, 4 February, Ind. VI, Belvedere

Joanni Siginulfo de Neapoli et Angelo Sarnelle portulanis Apulie pro transmictendis rebus aput Acon Rogerio de Sancto Severino in regno Jerosolimitano vicario. [Summary I. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 93. Reg. cit. f. 65. 1278, 6 February, Ind. VI, Belvedere

Magistris portulanis Apulie pro transitu Roberti militis magnifici principis Antiocheni (Boamund VII, *ed.*). [Summary I. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 94. Reg. cit. f. 67 et t.

1278, 25 February, Ind. VI, Torre di S. Erasmo, near Capua

Portulanis Apulie pro mictendis rebus in Acon ad servicium regium aput Rogerium de Sancto Severino in Regno Jerosolimitano vicario. [Summary I. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 95. Reg. cit. f. 68.

1278, 26 February, Ind. VI, Torre di S. Erasmo, near Capua

Scriptum est magistro portulano et procuratori curie in Principatu etc. quod recipiat tertiam partem bonorum mobilium Duraquile mulieris, filie quondam Riccardi de Cantalupo, ad quam fuit ad instantiam Gemme mulieris vidue de Luparia quod tenet et possidet Casale Sancti Angeli in Altissimis etc. in forma quod requirat ipsam a

justiciario etc. Datum ut supra (apud Turrim Sancti Erasmi prope Capuam, XXVI februarii, VI indictionis). [B.M.

Cit. E. Jamison, *Santa Maria della Strada*, p. 40 and n. 46; see *ante*, No. 84, *post*, No. 143.

De Lellis II: Gemme de Luparia provisio contra Duraquilam filiam quondam Riccardum de Cantalupo occupantem casale S. Angeli in Altissimis. [B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 96. Reg. Ang. No. 28 (1277 F) contd. f. 78.
1278, 2 April, Ind. VI, Torre di S. Erasmo

Magistris portulanis Apulie et Aprucii, ut libere permictant Thomasio de Sancto Severino transire cum vassellis curie apud Acon cum equis et scuteriis pro Rogerio de Sancto Severino in regno Jerosolimitano vicario.

Cf. *ante*, No. 1, from Reg. No. 1, for a second copy of this document; it was published by Cerone, XLII, p. 43 (see also p. 58) but without indication of the Register used. [Summary I. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 97. Reg. cit. f. 80 t. 1278, 12 April, Ind. VI, Torre di S. Erasmo

Magistris portulanis et procuratoribus Apulie. Pro Leonardo cancellario Achaye. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 98. Reg. cit. f. 108 t. 1278, 13 August, Ind. VI, Lagopesole

Magistris portulanis Apulie et Aprutii. Pro mictendis duo milibus salmarum frumenti aput Brundusium, que onerande sunt in navibus infrascriptis et mictende aput Acon Rogerio de Sancto Severino in regno Jerosolimitano vicario. [Summary I. M.

Cf. *ante*, No. 3, which appears to be another copy of this order, but with the date 3 August, instead of 13 August, possibly an error in view of No. 99, dated 14 August.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 99. Reg. cit. f. 109. 1278, 14 August, Ind. VI, Lagopesole

Idem. [Summary I. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 100. Reg. cit. f. 209 t. 1279, 22 March, Ind. VII, Torre di S. Erasmo

Magistro portulano Apulie. De extractione victualium mittendorum ad terras Paleologii (Emperor Michael VIII, Palaeologus *ed.*). [Summary B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 291: ff. 200–215, 'Apulia', 8 septembre 1278 au 7 juin 1279; Capasso, p. 41 notes that under the heading 'Apulia' are included the letters addressed 'Magistro portulano et procuratori'; cf. *post*, Nos. 102 and 103.

No. 101. Reg. Ang. No. 28 (1277 F) contd. f. 212.

1279, 14 April, Ind. VII, Torre di S. Erasmo

Pro principe Antiochie. [Summary B. M.

Minieri Riccio, 'Il regno di Carlo I, 1273–1285', *A.S.I.*, 4ª serie, t. II, p. 199 gives from this register, but f. 211, an order to the 'portulani di Puglia che permettono al milite Guido de Patriarca, nunzio e familiare di Boemondo Principe di Antiochia e Conte di Tripoli, suo affine, di portar via dal regno sette cavalli da guerra ed un palafredo per uso di quel Principe'.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 102. Reg. cit. f. 236 t. 1279, 20 February, Ind. VII, Torre di S. Erasmo

Magistro portulano Apulie. Pro parte Galerani de Ivriaco principatus Achaye capitanei . . . de frumento et ordeo massariarum suarum de portu Baroli deferendis per mare usque ad portum Clarentie. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 291: ff. 236–237, 'Apulia', 21 février au 4 mars 1279 (note that the present document is dated a day earlier, on 20 February); Capasso, p. 41.

No. 103. Reg. cit. f. 243 t. 1279, 29 August, Ind. VII, Lagopesole

Angelo Sagnelle magistro portulano et procuratori Apulie. Pro Cancellario Achaye (Leonardo, *ed.*). [Summary B. M.

C. Minieri Riccio, *Nuovi Studii riguardanti la Dominazione angioina nel Regno di Sicilia*, Naples, 1876, p. 2, publishes from the same register and folio letters executory addressed to the Chancellor Leonard himself in regard to lands granted him in Capitanata, Terra d'Otranto and Basilicata, clearly a different document from that summarized above, although perhaps referring to the same business.

Durrieu I, p. 291: ff. 239–243, 'Apulia', 25 juillet au 25 août 1279 (note that the present document is dated later than this limit, viz. 29 August); Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 104. Reg. cit. f. 306 1278, 2 September, Ind. VII, Lagopesole

Capitaneo insule Corfoy (Jordano de Sancto Felice, *ed.*). Pro stipendiariis morantibus Corfoy et de restitucione equorum. [Summary B. M.

Cf. Cerone, XLII, p. 64, n. 1.

Durrieu I, 291: ff. 306–310, 'Littere misse extra regnum', 2 septembre 1278 au 14 juillet 1279; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 105. Reg. Ang. No. 29 (1278 A) f. 8 t. 1266, 27 December, Ind. X, Capua

Pro Rogerio Celani, Molisii et Albe Comite.

Karolus etc Angelo Bisenti Secreto Principatus etc. Cum inter nos et Rogerium Celani Molisii et Albe Comitem fidelem nostrum super tribus milibus unciis auri in quibus camere nostre tenetur, *it is agreed that until the debt is discharged Count Roger's officials shall pay over to the curia all the revenues of his counties and lands, with the exception of two ounces of gold per diem, which the count shall receive for his expenses and those of his household; after the debt is discharged completely the count is to enter once more into full proprietorship.* Dat. Capue, XXVII Decembris, Indictionis ut supra. Cf. *I. Conti*, p. 142 and n. 2. [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 292, ff. 7–19, Actes analogues aux 'Extravagantes infra regnum'—5 décembre 1266 au 15 avril 1267; Capasso, p. 42 Ind. X (1266–1267) novembre-aprile, Extravagantes, ff. 7–19.

No. 106. Reg. Ang. No. 29 (1278 A) contd. f. 9.

1266, 23 December, Ind. X, Capua

Karolus etc. Fratri Gunfrido ordinis militie Templi provisori castrorum et Guillelmo Figerio capitaneo militum in Aprutio *gives orders that they are to receive into their custody six of the castles of Count Roger of Celano, Molise and Alba in pledge for the 3000 gold ounces for which the said count is held responsible to our chamber, until they are paid from the revenue of the counties, special mention being made of the* castra Sancti Potiti et Ovinuli. *After the debt has been discharged the castles are to be restored to the count.* Datum Capue, XXIII Decembris, (X Indictionis). [E. M. J.

Cit. Del Giudice, *Codice Diplomatico*, I, p. 244, n. (2); Minieri Riccio, *Alcuni fatti riguardanti Carlo I d'Angiò*, p. 19 (66); *I Conti*, p. 142, n. 2, 3.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 107. Reg. cit. f. 11 t. 1267, 7 February, Ind. X, Capua

Datum 7 Februarii, indictionis X.

De Lellis VI, p. 249: Rogerio Celani, Molisii et Albae Comiti pro solutione collectae S. Mariae ei debitae a suis vassallis. [E. M. J.

Cit. *I Conti*, p. 144, n. 2, with error in day.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 108. Reg. cit. ff. 35, 36. 1272, February–July, Ind. I

De Lellis VI, p. 264: Justitiario Aprutii . . . Pro mittenda pecunia praesentis adohamenti que pro remissione itineris Albaniae à feudatariis [soluta est]. fol. 35. *Similar orders* ff. 35 *and* 36. [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 292: ff. 31–40, Régistre de la Chambre, 16 février au 12 juillet 1272; Capasso, p. 42 gives less precise dates for these folios, attributing 20–40 to luglio-agosto, 1269–1272, Iustitiariis Secretis et aliis.

No. 109. Reg. cit. f. 197. 1276, 30 October, Ind. V

De Lellis II: Flandine relicte quondam Goffridi de Matricio militis de Suessa provisio contra Francum de Guisamala militem spoliantem eam tertia parte castri Maranule (?) sub die penultimo octobris, I indictionis. [B. M.

Note: The indiction should be V; see *ante*, No. 67, dated probably 1275, in which the death of Goffridus de Matricio is mentioned as recent, and *post*, No. 146.

Durrieu I, p. 293: ff. 172–250, Charles, prince de Salerne 'Justiciariis', 25 septembre 1276 au 4 mars 1277; Capasso, p. 43, Ind. V (1276–1277) settembre-marzo, Iustitiariis, ff. 172–250.

No. 110. Reg. cit. f. 247 t. 1277, 17 February, Ind. V

xvii Februarii apud T . . . Scriptum est Justitiario Terre Ydronti. Significaverunt nobis Riccardus de Martano, Rogerius Marmontus et Ryccardus de Montefuscolo, devo-[ti nostri, quod,] cum predictus dominus pater noster mandasset eis per licteras suas olim anno proximo preterite quarte indictionis, ut muniti decenter equis et armis ac aliis que ad apparatum pertinent militarem apud Sanctum Germanum vel Aquinum in dicto termino personaliter se conferent, [receperint licteras] que pro parte ipsius domini patris nostri mandarentur eisdem, et unde ad predictum mandatum regium contulerint

se apud Capuam et se presentaverint coram illustri viro domino R[oberto] Comite Atrabatense, ac (?) monstram fecerint (?) coram eo pro terra feudali, quam singuli eorum tenent in jurisdictione vestra, videlicet predictus Riccardus de Martano pro terra quam asseruit tenere in casali Martani et in casale Curse; Riccardus de Montefusculo pro casali Balneoli, quod asseruit tenere in eadem jurisdictione vestra, et Rogerius Marmontus pro casalibus Butrunti et Casamasselle, que asseruit tenere in pertinentiis Ydronti [. . .] Vos autem quia non detulerunt vobis licteras de representatione ipsorum et de monstra quam fecerunt, eos ad [solv]endum vobis adohamentum pro servitio predictarum terrarum suarum pheudalium, [juxta tenorem mandati] regii predicto anno quarte indictionis vobis directi (?) exigendo adohamento a baronibus et pheudatariis latinis jurisdictionis vestre tenentibus terras et bona pheudalia valoris annui infra XX uncias, multipliciter molestatis, nitentes adohamentum exigere pro parte curie ab eisdem, ac si ad predictum mandatum regium non representassent se nec monstram fecissent de servicio quod pro predictis terris pheudalibus, quas tenent, facere tenentur et debentur. Super quo cum sibi supplicaverint provideri quia, quesitis quaternis, qui de monstra facta nostre Curie per barones et feudatarios regnicolas coram predicto Comite Atrebatense etcetera, . . . [E. M. J.

For further references to this muster and the feudatories in question see *ante*, No. 6, No. 69.

De Lellis VI, p. 360: Riccardo de Martano, Rogerio Marmonte et Riccardo de Montefuscolo provisio quod non molestentur ad solvendum adohamentum quia monstram fecerunt armis et equis muniti . . . [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 293: ff. 172–250, Charles, Prince de Salerne, 'Justiciariis', 25 septembre 1276 au 4 mars 1277; Capasso, p. 43: Ind. V. (1276–1277) settembre-marzo, Iustitiariis, ff. 172–250.

No. 111. Reg. Ang. No. 30 (1278 B) f. 1 t.

1278, 3 September, Ind. VII, Lagopesole

Magistro portulano Apulie et Aprucii. De deferendis victualibus apud Jaderam ad supplicationem religiosi fratris Franci preceptoris Domus Templi in Avarnia in partibus Sclavonie. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 294: ff. 1–8, 'Magistri procuratores et portulani', 2 septembre au 26 octobre 1278; Capasso, p. 44.

No. 112. Reg. cit. f. 6. 1278, 27 September, Ind. VII, Lagopesole

Magistris procuratoribus et portulanis Sicilie. Pro transferendis in Siciliam quibusdam Saracenis insule Pantalarie. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 113. Reg. cit. f. 29. 1279, 5 April, Ind. VII, Torre di S. Erasmo

Recipiendis

Scriptum est Henrico de Nicia servienti etc. Cum pro munitione castrorum nostrorum Butrunto et Subuto sitorum in Romania subscripta arma providerimus oportuna videlicet: balistas de torno de cornu tres, balistas de cornu ad duos pedes sex, balistas ad unum pedem de cornu decem et octo, balistas ad duos pedes de fuste sex, balistas ad unum pedem de fuste decem et octo, cornos duos, quarrellos de torno centum et quinquaginta, quarrellos ad duos pedes mille et quingentos, quarrellos ad

unum pedem sex milia, baldererias quadraginta duas et pro qualibet omnium balistarum ipsarum cordas tres, duas videlicet tirantes et unam falsam, et arma ipsa tibi quem de industria et fide tue confisi super ipsis in eisdem castris immittendis et distribuendis prefecimus et duximus statuendum per Guilloctum Accillatorem castellanum Castri nostri Capuani de Neapoli, de armis Curie nostre in sua custodia in castro ipso sistentibus assignari, mandemus fidelitati tue firmiter et expresse precipimus quatenus, statim receptis presentibus omni prorsus mora et occasione sublatis, ad predictum castrum Capuanum te conferas et ab eodem Guillocto requires et recipias arma prescripta ac ipsa aput Brundusium deferri facias cum animalibus que per iusticiarium Terre Laboris et Comitatus Molisii conduci et tibi in necessario numero assignari jubemus, arma ipsa omnia in dicta terra Brundusii diligenter et salubriter custodias et facias custodiri quousque quod de eis in antea sis facturus tibi per nostras licteras referetur, que evestigio subsequenter de receptione autem ipsorum armorum predicto Guillocto et animalium predicto iusticiario facias ydoneam apodixam et receptionem hujusmodi cum tuo processu quem in hiis habueris per licteras tuas statim nostre referas majestati; que arma in vassello in quo alie munitiones castrorum ipsorum per justiciarium terre Ydronti onerari debent in portu ipsius terre Brundusii onerari facies et ea in predictis castris assignabis et distribues in hunc modum videlicet: Americo de Marenti familiari et fideli nostro castellano predicti castri Butrunto, in quo servientes quadraginta providimus deputari balistas de torno de cornu duas, balistas de cornu ad duos pedes quatuor, balistas de cornu ad unum pedem duodecim, balistas ad duos pedes de fuste quatuor, balistas de fuste ad unum pedem duodecim, cornum unum, baldererias viginti octo et pro qualibet balistarum ipsarum cordas tres, duas videlicet tirantes et unum falsam, quarrellos de torno centum et quarrellos ad duos pedes mille et ad unum pedem quarrellorum quatuor milia; et totam reliquam quantitatem armorum ipsorum assignabis Guillelmo de Riveron, familiari et fideli nostro, castellano predicti castri Subuto sicut te presente per nostram excellentiam est provisum. Tu vero provideas et attendas si in aliquo castrorum ipsorum addenda et munienda fuerit aliqua quantitas predictorum armorum ultra vel minus quam quantitas predistincta et arma ipsa distribuas sicut videris oportunum, usus inde consilio et deliberacione Jordani de Sancto Felice capitanei insule nostre Corphoy et Lodoyci de Roe militum, familiarium et fidelium nostrorum quos in castrorum ipsorum receptione mandavimus interesse. Datum aput Turrim sancti Herasmi, V aprilis, (VII Indictionis). [A. W. J.

Cit. F. Carabellese, *Carlo d'Angiò nei rapporti con Venezia e l'Oriente*, p. 84, n. (2).

Cf. *post*, No. 144 for the order sent to the Justiciar of Terra di Lavoro and Contado di Molise to furnish the necessary transport for Henricus de Nicia.

Durrieu I, p. 294: ff. 24–29 'Extravagantes infra regnum', 29 mars au 11 avril 1279; Capasso, p. 44.

No. 114. Reg. Ang. No. 30 (1278 B) contd. f. 35.

1279, 8 February, Ind. VII, Belvedere

Procuratori Apulie. Pro priori hospitalis Domus Templi (? *leg.* Baroli, *ed.*) ad deferenda victualia per mare apud Acon. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 294: ff. 30–37, 'Magistri portulani et procuratores', 18 décembre 1278 au 22 février, 1279; Capasso, p. 44.

No. 115. Reg. Ang. No. 30 (1278 B) contd. f. 61.

1279, 7 January, Ind. VII, Naples

Magistris portulanis et procuratoribus in Apulia. Pro nunciis domini Pape et apocrisariis Paleologi. [Summary B. M.

Note: This document appears to be a duplicate of the document published from f. 32 of the same register by C. Minieri Riccio, *Il Regno di Carlo I d'Angiò, 1273–1285*, *A.S.I.* 4ª serie, t. II, p. 193.

Durrieu I, p. 294: ff. 54–61, 'Magistri portulani et procuratores', 31 octobre 1278 au 7 janvier 1279; Capasso p. 44.

No. 116. Reg. cit. f. 61–61 t. 1278, 11 December, Ind. VII, Foggia

De extrahendis salmis frumenti viginti milibus de portubus Sicilie.

Item scriptum est eisdem Pascakarolo de Trano et Riccardo de Falcone de Vigiliis, magistris portulanis et procuratoribus Sicilie, etc. Cum extractionem frumenti usque ad summam triginta milium salmarum deferendarum extra Regnum, preter quam ad terrarum (*sic*) Palialogi inimici nostri, mercatoribus et aliis ipsum extrahere volentibus sub jure exiture, exigendo ab eis pro parte Curie nostre ad rationem de unciis auri viginti quinque pro singulis centum salmis de partibus Sicilie, providerimus concedendum, fidelitati vestre precipiendo mandamus quatenus mercatores et alios de hujusmodi frumento extrahere volentes, frumentum usque ad summam predictam de portubus jurisdicionis vestre licitis et permissis ad extractionem victualium deputati, recepto ab extrahentibus ipsum pro parte Curie nostre jure exiture ad predictam rationem de unciis auri viginti quinque ponderis generalis pro singulis centum salmis, extrahere permittatis, recepta prius ab eorum singulis sufficiente et ydonea fidecautione: quod de exoneratione et venditione ipsius frumenti facienda predicto modo extra Regnum preter quam in terris Palialogi, si deferantur et exonerentur aput Tunisium vel Bugeam vel ad partes alias Barbarie a Rege Tunisii vel ejus vicario; si in Accon a Rogerio de Sancto Severino comite Marsici in regno nostro Jerosolimitano vicario dilecto consiliario, familiari et fideli nostro et venerabili magistro sacre militie domus Templi in Accon; si in Tripulo a principe Antiocheno; si in Clarentia a Gallaramo de Vriaco (Ivriaco, *ed.*) regni Sicilie senescalco vicario nostro in Achaya, dilecto consiliario, familiari et fideli nostro; si in Marsilia a senescallo nostro Provincie; si in Veneciis a Duce Veneciarum; si in aliis terris que dominum habent a domino terre in qua exonerabitur et si in terris comunitatis a potestate vel capitanio, rectore seu consule, necnon et a consule nostro et consule Provincialium ubi hujusmodi consules sunt, in certo et competente termino quem prefigatur eisdem, ydoneas vobis referant licteras responsales, pecuniam vero totam que successive ex hujusmodi jure exiture ipsius frumenti ad manus vestras pervenerit, nulla penitus inde retencione facta nec de ea aliquibus aliis exhibentes vel assignantes sine mandato celsitudinis nostre vobis dirigendo sub magno et consueto sigillo nostro pendente, in quo etiam sit impressum sigillum nostrum parvum secretum, ad Castrum nostrum Salvatoris ad Mare de Neapoli, assignandum Thesaurariis nostris ibidem morantibus, per sufficientes et ydoneos nuncios vestros vobis inde totaliter nostra

Curia incumbente sine defectu et difficultate qualibet mictere procuretis. Cauti existentes quod personarum nostrarum periculum et bonorum nostrorum dispendium incurrere formidatis pretextu quantitatis predicte, nulla major vel alia frumenti, ordei vel quorumcumque aliorum victualium seu leguminum quantitas nec equi aliqui seu muli vel queque alia prohibita de portubus et locis maritime ipsarum parcium aliquatenus in fraudem nostre Curie extrahantur, quantitatem vero frumenti quam de summa predicta singulis duobus mensibus extrahi contigerit, cum nominibus et cognominibus illorum que frumentum ipsum extrasserint, de quibus portubus, et cum quibus vassellis, et nominibus patronorum et vassellorum ipsorum, et quantum de quolibet portu et cum quolibet vassello et ad que loca deferri debeat ad vendendum, cum nominibus et cognominibus fidejussorum, quos ab extrahentibus frumentum ipsum receperitis, de predictis responsalibus referendis et quod et quantum receperitis a singulis eorum pro jure exiture ad rationem predictam in duobus quaternis prenotari et redigi faciatis particulariter et distincte, quorum quaternorum unum celsitudini nostre et consimili in responsalibus etc. sigillatum sigillis nostris mictere procuretis; diligentiam tamen provisionem habere vos volumus quod si forte processu temporis antequam predictam summam frumenti extrahatur ex aliquo casu in partibus ipsis caristia victualium resultaret, ita quod salma venderetur in partibus ipsis comuniter pro augustale uno, ad extractionem ipsius quantitatis frumenti juxta predictam formam nichilominus procedentes, statim in modicum spacium temporis significetis distincte et per seriem nobis et predictis magistris rationalibus hujusmodi caristiam et ob quam causam accedatur et in quibus locis Sicilie salma frumenti ad predictam rationem de augustale uno ex caristia ipsa vendetur et quantitatem que de predicta summa frumenti extrahendi restaret, ut provideamus et rescribamus inde celeriter nostre beneplacitum voluntatis, et si predicta summa viginti milium salmarum frumenti sub predicto jure exiture et predicto modo extrahi poterit, super quo diligentiam et studium habeatis, statim nobis et predictis magistris rationalibus per vestras licteras intimetis ut super extractione majoris quantitatis frumenti ad hoc quod de jure exiture nostra utilitas procuretis, nostrum vobis beneplacitum per nostras licteras rescribamus: Volumus insuper et mandamus ut si fuerint aliqui mercatores vel persone alie volentes extrahere frumentum de portubus ipsarum parcium ad extracionem victualium deputate deferendorum aput Amalfiam vel partes alias Principatus sub jure exiture ad rationem videlicet de unciis auri duodecim et medium pro singulis centum salmis vobis pro parte Curie nostre solvendis, satisfacto vobis de jure ipso exiture et recepta per vos ab ipsis frumentum ipsum extrahere volentibus sufficiente et ydonea fidecautione quod frumentum ipsum quod extrasserint deferri et exonerari facient aput Amalfiam vel terras alias Principatus, et quod de exoneratione ipsius facienda ibidem a magistro portulano Principatus et Terre Laboris, in certo et competent termino prefigendo eis per vos, vobis deferant ydoneas licteras responsales, mercatores hujusmodi et personas easdem quantitatem frumenti de qua jus exiture vobis ad predictam rationem solverint et predictam fidecautionem dederint de predictis licteris responsalibus deferendis, ut superius dictum est, extrahere permittatis et quantitatem totam frumenti quam extrahi contigerit per quos, de quibus portubus et cum quibus vassellis, et quantum de quolibet portu cum quolibet vassello, et ad quas terras Principatus deferri debeat, in predictis quaternis conficiendis per vos de extractione frumenti predicti, ut superius dictum est, notari et redigi faciatis particulariter et

distincte cum quantitate pecunie que pro exitura ipsius frumenti a singulis ipsorum solute fuerint ad rationem predictam. Datum Fogie XI decembris VII indictionis.

[A. W. J.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 117. Reg. Ang. No. 30 (1278 B) contd. f. 93 t.

1279, 5 April, Ind. VII, Torre di S. Erasmo

Magistro procuratori Apulie pro negotio Acon de transferendis victualibus.

[Summary B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 294: ff. 93–105, 'Magistris portulanis et procuratoribus', 22 mars au 4 juillet 1279; Capasso, p. 44.

No. 118. Reg. cit. f. 96. 1279, 21 April, Ind. VII, Torre di S. Erasmo

Magistro procuratori et portulano Apulie pro magistro domus Hospitalis in Acon de extractione victualium. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 119. Reg. cit. f. 103 t. 1279, Ind. VII

De Lellis II, p. 573: Roberto de Acon Albergario nostro exequtoria concessionis bonorum in Aversa devolutorum per obitum absque liberis quondam Roberti de Magistro sub servitio unius balistarii equitis ad rationem unciarum 12 pro servitio dicti balistarii. f. 103 t°. [E. M. J.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 120. Reg. cit. f. 200 t. 1280, 19 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Magistro portulano Calabrie pro emendo vino mictendo apud Acon pro usu gentis nostre. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 295: ff. 198–201, 'Magistri procuratores et portulani Calabrie', 8 avril au 12 mai 1280, [but note that this document is of 19 August]; Capasso, p. 45 Ind. VIII, 1279–1280, marzo-agosto, Magistri procuratores et portulani Calabrie, ff. 198–201.

No. 121. Reg. cit. f. 204. 1279–80, November–February, Ind. VIII

De Lellis I: Gualterio de Colle Petro militi possidenti Roccam de Casale et castrum Collis Petri in Aprucia (*sic*) ac Roccellam Sancti Victoris in Calabria provisio pro matrimonio contraendo cum Francisca sorore Stefani de Anglone tenentis castra Caccaboni et Piczii ac quartam partem Castelli de Judice in Terra Laboris nec non quartam partem castri de Anglone in Aprucio; et dictus Stephanus habet filiam nomine Constantia.

De Lellis, II repeats the same with slight variants: Gualterio de Collepetro militi tenenti Roccam de Casali, medietatem Collis Petri in Aprucia (*sic*) et Roccellam Sancti Victoris in Calabria pro matrimonio cum Francisca sorori Stephani de Anglono tenentis castra Caccabonis, Piczii, quartam partem Castri de Iudice et quartam partem castri Anglonis, qui Stephanus habet aliam filiam parvam nomine Constantia. [B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 295: f. 204, 'Matrimonia', 7 novembre 1279 au 18 février 1280; Capasso, p. 45.

No. 122. Reg. cit. f. 217. 1280, 27 March, Ind. VIII, Torre di S. Erasmo

Capitaneo (Jordano de Sancto Felice, *ed.*) et magistro massario insule Curphoy pro reparatione galee et galionis. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 295: ff. 215–219 'Extravagantes extra regnum', mars–avril 1280; Capasso, p. 45 gives ff. 215–220 for these Extravagantes (cf. *post*, No. 128).

No. 123. Reg. Ang. No. 30 (1278 B) contd. f. 217.
1280, 29 March, Ind. VIII, Torre di S. Erasmo

Capitaneo (Jordano de Sancto Felice, *ed.*) et magistro massario insule Curphoy pro reparandis galeis. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 124. Reg. cit. f. 217 t. 1280, 5 April, Ind. VIII, Torre di S. Erasmo

Judici Florio de Venusio magistro expensori insule Corphoy pro Johanne de Rocca castellano castri Novi et Petro de Noves castellano castri Veteris dicte insule et servientibus. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 125. Reg. cit. f. 218. 1280, 5 April, Ind. VIII, Torre di S. Erasmo

Capitaneo Corphoy (Jordano de Sancto Felice, *ed.*) pro mictendis victualibus supradictis castellanis. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

Nos. 126–128. Reg. cit. ff. 219, 219 t., 220.

Idem. [B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 129. Reg. Ang. No. 31 (1278 D) f. 29 t.
1278, 19 March, Ind. VI, S. Erasmo

Justitiario Terre Idronti pro reparandis et muniendis viginti teridis curie in Brundusio existentibus mictendis aput Acon pro serviciis regiis Rogerio de Sancto Severino in Regno Jerosolimitano vicario. [Summary I. M.

Durrieu I, p. 295, ff. 28–43 'Just. Terre Ydronti', 1er septembre 1277 au 30 août; Capasso, p. 46.

No. 130. Reg. cit. f. 32. ? 1278, 19 March, Ind. VI, S. Erasmo

Justiciario Terre Idronti pro reparandis Teridis et mictendis eis ad Rogerium de Sancto Severino in regno Jerosolimitano vicario pro serviciis regiis.
[Summary I. M.

Cit. Cerone, XLII, p. 31, n. 3.

Durrieu I, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 131. Reg. cit. f. 94 t.–95. 1278, 6 April, Ind. VI, S. Erasmo

Justiciario Terre Idronti pro reparandis et muniendis galeis et navibus infrascriptis mictendis ad Rogerium de Sancto Severino in regno Jerosolimitano vicario pro serviciis regiis. [Summary I. M.

Cf. C. Minieri Riccio, *Nuovi Studii*, p. 6 for the parallel document issued to Roger of San Severino; and *ante*, No. 1.

Durrieu I, p. 296, ff. 92–99 Fragments provenant du même régistre ('Registrum Camere') 18 février au 8 avril 1278; Capasso, p. 46, however, has Ind. VI (1277–1278) sett.–aprile, ff. 92–99, Justitiario Terre Ydronti et Vice Justitiario. The present document bears this out, and the group ff. 92–99 should apparently follow ff. 28–43, which Durrieu also attributes to Just. Ydronti.

No. 132. Reg. Ang. No. 31 (1278 D) contd. ff. 141 t, 144, 144 t.
1278, 4 February, Ind. VI, Belvedere

Rogerio de Sancto Severino in regno Jerosolimitano vicario pro recipiendis victualibus et rebus aliis mictendis in Acon. [Summary I. M.

Durrieu I, p. 296, ff. 100–158, 'Extravagantes infra regnum', 6 avril au 16 août 1278; Capasso, p. 46, Ind. VI (1277–1278) sett.-agosto Extravagantes in regnum f. 100–168. Note Durrieu ends the Register with f. 158, Capasso with f. 168.

No. 133. Reg. Ang. No. 32 (1278 D) f. 175 t.
1278, 13 February, Ind. VI, Belvedere

Angelo Faraono militi de Gaeta preposito navigii curie pro reparandis vassellis mictendis aput Acon ad Rogerium de Sancto Severino Regno Jerosolimitano vicario pro serviciis regiis exequendis. [Summary I. M.

Cf. C. Minieri Riccio, *Il Regno di Carlo I d'Angiò, 1273–1285*, *A.S.I.*, 4ª serie t. I, p. 5 (5) for a full summary of this document, taken however from Reg. Ang. No. 1 (1268 A) f. 71 t.

Durrieu I, p. 296: ff. 169–176, 'Extravagantes infra regnum'—6 au 18 février 1278; Capasso, p. 47, Ind. VI (1277–1278) sett.-nov., Extravagantes infra regnum ff. 169–293.

No. 134. Reg. cit. f. 182 t. 1278, 19 March, Ind. VI, S. Erasmo

Angelo Faraoni de Gayeta preposito vassellorum Curie pro reparandis teridis mictendis aput Acon cum diversis rebus ad Rogerium de Sancto Severino in regno Jerosolimitano vicario pro exequendis serviciis regiis. Cf. *ante*, No. 1. [Summary I. M.

Cit. Cerone, XLII, p. 30, n. 3 from this f. 182 t., but with the date 18 March; pub. Cerone, *ibid.*, pp. 38–40 from the copy of the document contained in an order to Simon de Bellovidere of 6 April, f. 211 t.

Durrieu I, p. 296: ff. 177–295 (1°)—Idem ['Extravagantes infra regnum']—10 mars au 31 août 1278; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 135. Reg. cit. f. 208 t. 1278, 18 April, Ind. VI, Torre di S. Erasmo

Custodibus passuum Terre Laboris pro Petro de Manso nuncio domicelle Marie, domicelle Jerosolimitane ut libere exeat ex Regno cum equitaturis. [Summary I. M.

Cit. A. de Guignard, Comte de Saint Priest, *Conquête de Naples*, III, p. 291, n. 2, 'Rescrits de Charles Ier, de mars et avril, 1278'; Sir George Hill, *History of Cyprus*, II, p. 190.

Cf. *post*, No. 136, for a similar order from the same folio, but dated 28 April.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 136. Reg. cit. f. 208 t. 1278, 28 April, Ind. VI, Torre di S. Erasmo

Custodibus passuum Terre Laboris quod Petrus de Manso, nuncius domicelle Marie dicte quondam Jerosolimitane, possit exire libere de Regno. [Summary I. M.

pub. Cerone, XLII p. 49 n. 1, but from another copy of the order in Reg. Ang. No. 1 (1268 A) f. 55 t.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 137. Reg. Ang. No. 32 (1278 D) f. 351. 1278, 4 April, Ind. VI, Capua

Johanni Trousevache pro nuntiis principis Antiochie. [Summary I. M.

This letter is drawn up in French; it does not however appear to be among those published by A. de Boüard, *Documents en français des Archives angevines de Naples* (Règne de Charles I), I, *Les Mandements aux trésoriers*, Paris, 1933; nor by C. Minieri Riccio, *Il Regno di Carlo I d'Angiò, 1273–1285 A.S.I.* 4ª serie t. I, though on pp. 226–227 he gives documents on similar business; nor by F. Cerone, *op. cit.*

Durrieu I, p. 297: ff. 350–355, Comptes de l'Hotel, en français, mars à mai 1278; Capasso, p. 47, Ind. VI (1277–78), gennaio-giugno, *Apodixe* ff. 350–353, 366; marzo-agosto, *Expense* 354ᵇ–355 etc. Atti in lingua francese.

No. 138. Reg. cit. f. 351 t. 1278, 6 April, Ind. VI, Capua

De pecunia solvenda pro rebus necessariis pro principissa Antiochie. [Summary I. M.

Cit. C. Minieri Riccio, *Nuovi Studi*, p. 6; and Sir G. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, II, p. 190, n. 4. Cf. F. Cerone, XLII, p. 48, n. 1 for the publication from f. 351 of a letter in French on the same business, dated 8 April at Capua; and Minieri Riccio, *Il Regno di Carlo I d'Angiò, 1273–1285, A.S.I.* 4ª serie, t. I. p. 227 for a summary of the same.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 139. Reg. cit. f. 355. ? 1278, May

Expense varie pro principissa Antiochie. [Summary I. M.

Cit. Sir G. Hill, *loc. cit.*

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 140. Reg. Ang. No. 33 (1278–1279 H) f. 17. 1278–1279, Ind. VII

De Lellis II, p. 770: Singulis comitibus baronibus et feudatariis Regni mandatum ad ostendendum Privilegia et Concessiones ne occupent, quae eis non debentur, f. 17. [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 298: ff. 2–39 ou II–XXXVIIII, 'Justiciario Aprucii', 19 septembre 1278 au 28 août 1279; Capasso, p. 48, Ind. VII (1278–1279) sett.-agosto, Iust. Aprutii, ff. 2–39.

No. 141. Reg. cit. f. 21. 1278–1279, Ind. VII

De Lellis II, p. 771: Eidem Justitiario Aprutii facultas, quod a feudatariis dictae Provinciae possit recipere adohamentum ad rationem unciarum 20 pro servitio cuiuslibet militis juxta antiquam Consuetudinem Regni nostri, fol. 21. [E. M. J.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 142. Reg. cit. f. 37 t. 1279, Ind. VII

De Lellis II, p. 800: Joanni Barberio militi, cui concessum fuit feudum à quondam Petro Bellimontis Comite Camerario tunc Domino Comitatus Albae, quod feudum dicitur Joannis Sarraceni, provisio contra Oddonem de Tuciaco Dominum dicti Comitatus turbantem vassallos suos in piscatione Lacus Fucini, f. 37 t°. [E. M. J.

Cf. *Atti perduti*, I, i, p. 412, no. 335, Reg. 1278 C.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 143. Reg. Ang. No. 33 (1278–1279 H) contd. f. 53 t.

Pro Duraquila muliere. 1279, 31 January, Ind. VII, Naples

Scriptum est eidem etc. (i.e. the Justiciar of the Terra di Lavoro and the County of Molise, *ed.*). Licet Duracula mulier, filia quondam Riccardi de Cantalupo, legitime ac peremptorie pridem citata ad petitionem Gemme de Luparia mulieris vidue, ut in Magna Curia nostra coram vicemagistro justiciario et judicibus compareret in judicio, responsura eidem Gemme, ipsam convenire volenti, viduarum privilegio permictente, quod, cum teneret et possideret casale Sancti Angeli in Altissimis, situm in Comitatu Molisii, cum hominibus, tenimentis et pertinenciis suis, monachi Sancte Sophie de Benevento, propria auctoritate et per violentiam destituerunt et destitui fecerunt eamdem Gemmam possessione casalis ejusdem, et sic ex causa destitucionis ejusdem, possessio casalis ipsius pervenit ad monasterium supradictum, ac postmodum abas et conventus ejusdem monasterii concesserunt casale ipsum Rogerio et Oderisio et quondam Riccardo de Cantalupo fratribus, tenendum ad annuum reditum a monasterio supradicto, eo quod non comparuit in termino sibi dato, nec aliquis comparuit pro eadem qui legitime ipsius absentiam excusaret, notario Bartholomeo de Limosano procuratore ipsius vidue in judicio comparente, et ipsius citate contumaciam incusante, per dictos vicemagistrum justiciarium et judices, ut moris est, triduo primitus expectata, fuerit ad terciam partem bonorum suorum mobilium ob ejus contumaciam, ad opus ejusdem Curie, condepnata, et decretum extiterit per eosdem quod dicta vidua induceretur seu procurator ipsius pro ea in possessione tercie partis dicti casalis cum hominibus, tenimentis et pertinentiis suis causa rei servande donec contumax ipsa tedio affecta veniret in judicio responsura, tamen quod Riccardus Guleti de Cantalupo, pro parte ipsius Duraquile, infra legitima tempora in ipsa Curia nostra comparens dedit et posuit fidejussores idoneos de stando juri et justicia facienda et de restituendis expensis occasione ipsius cause per eam factis, videlicet Berterandum de Montiliis, Petrum de Alvrinco (*sic, ed.*) et Guillelmum de Lamannone milites, possessionem tercie partis dicti casalis cum hominibus, tenimentis et pertinenciis suis, nomine ipsius Duraquile sibi restitui postulavit, quo circa fidelitati tue precipiendo mandamus quatenus dictam Duraquilem seu procuratorem ejus pro ea in possessione tercie partis dicti casalis cum hominibus, tenimentis et pertinenciis suis, presentium auctoritate inducas ac in ipsa tuearis inductam, faciens ei de fructibus medio tempore inde perceptis integre responderi, nichilominus utramque partem peremptorie cites ut octavo prius citationem tuam ad procedendum in causa ipsa in dicta nostra Curia se presentet diem citationis cum forma presentium coram quibus et quicquid inde feceris dictis vicemagistro justiciario et judicibus rescripturus. Datum Neapoli, anno domini MCCLXXVIIII, mense Januarii, ultimo ejusdem, VII indictionis.

[B. M.

Cit. E. Jamison, *Santa Maria della Strada*, p. 40, n. 46; see *ante*, Nos. 84 and 95; cf. for Duraquila's marriage *Atti perduti*, I, i, p. 394 n° 197.

De Lellis II: Duraquile filie quondam Riccardi de Cantalupo convente per Gemmam de Luparia viduam ex eo quod dicta Gemma fuit destituta casali Sancti Angeli in Altissimis per monachos S. Sofie de Benevento et postmodum ab abbate dicti monasterii fuit concessum dictum casale Rogerio de (*sic*) Odorisio et dicto Riccardo de Cantalupo fratribus ad certum annuum redditum provisum quia fidejussores dedit dicta Duraquila, Bertrandum de Montiliis (?) Petrum de Alvernia et Guillelmo de Lamanno milites. [B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 298: ff. 40–73 ou XLI–LXXIII 'Just. Terre Laboris', 1er septembre 1278 au 1er juillet 1279; Capasso, p. 48.

No. 144. Reg. Ang. No. 33 (1278–1279 H) contd. f. 62.

1279, 5 April, Ind. VII, Torre di S. Erasmo

Pro Curia

Scriptum est eidem justiciario (Terre Laboris) etc. Cum pro municionibus castrorum nostrorum Butrunto et Subuto sitorum in Romania subscripta arma providerimus oportuna videlicet: balistas de torno de cornu tres, balistas ad duos pedes de cornu sex, balistas ad unum pedem de cornu decem et octo, balistas ad duos pedes de fuste sex, balistas ad unum pedem de fuste decem et octo, cornos duos, quarrellos de cornu centum quinquaginta, quarrellos ad duos pedes mille et quingentos et quarrellorum ad unum pedem sex milia, baldererias quadraginta duas et pro qualibet balistarum ipsarum omnium cordas tres, duas videlicet tirantes et unam falsam, et arma ipsa Henrico de Nicia servienti et fideli nostro per Guilloctum Accillatorem castellanum castri nostri Capuani de Neapoli de armis Curie nostre in eodem castro sub custodia sua sistentibus mandaverimus assignari, deferendum per eum usque Brundusium per terram et deinde per mare ad castra ipsa sicut ei iussimus et pro ipsis deferendum usque ad dictam terram Brundusii animalia necessaria reputentur; fidelitati tue firmiter et expresse precipimus quatenus statim receptis presentibus eidem Henrico animalia et equitaturas ad bardam sufficientia et necessaria pro ipsis armis deferendis a Neapoli ad dictam terram Brundusii, que conducas iuxta statutum Curie que undecumque est vel erit per manus tuas et in alterius fiscalis pecunie defectu, de pecunia presentis generalis subventionis jurisdicionis tue debeas sine defectu quolibet assignare; a quo de assignatione et a patronis de loerio ipsorum recipias ad tui cautelam ydoneam apodixam et quot animalia propterea assignaveris et quod pro eorum loerio solveris et ad quam rationem et de qua pecunia celsitudini nostre magistris rationalibus etc. per licteras tuas scribas. Datum apud Turrim Sancti Herasmi V aprilis VII indictionis. [A. W. J.

Cf. *ante* No. 113 for the parallel order to Henricus de Nicia; and for a summary of the present document C. Minieri Riccio, *Il Regno di Carlo I d'Angiò 1273–1285*, *A.S.I.*, 4ª serie, t. II, p. 198.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 145. Reg. cit. ff. 85, 96. ? 1279

De Lellis II, p. 778: Justitiario Aprutii litere responsales de receptione instrumentorum per que constat fuisse submonitos comites, barones et feudatarios dicte provincie tam Gallicos quam Provinciales et Latinos cum nominibus et cognominibus ac territoriis eorum.

Comes Rogerius de Celano Latinus tenens Castrum Castuli, Roccam de Medio, Fuscalinam, Castrum Vetus, Cucullum, Castrum Galiani, Robore, Porzanum, Foce, Castrum Turris Passerum, Agellum, Castrum Sancti Potiti, Castrum Sancte Eugeniae, Ouinulum, Bisengium, et alia feuda.

Ibid., p. 782; Maria de Aquino tenens Castrum Marani. [E. M. J.

Cit. *I Conti*, p. 149; n. 1, and 3.

Durrieu I, p. 298 gives ff. 74–104 as containing documents addressed to the 'Just. Principatus', 2 sept. 1278 au 25 août 1279, whereas these letters concern the 'Just. Aprucii', who are referred to ff., 2–39; Capasso, p. 48 gives the same indications.

No. 146. Reg. cit. f. 96. ? 1279

De Lellis II: Flandine mulieri de Suessa relicte quondam Goffridi de Matricio de dicta terra similis. [B. M.

See *ante*, No. 67 and 109.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*; the same note as to No. 145, since this document belongs to the 'Just. Terre Laboris' (ff. 40–73).

No. 147. Reg. Ang. No. 33 (1278–1279 H) contd. ff. 203 t, 204.
1279, 5 April, Ind. VII, Torre di S. Erasmo

Justiciario Terre Idronti pro reparatione et munitione navis et aliis necessariis pro negotio Acon. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 298: ff. CLXXXX–CCXX, 'Just. Terre Ydrontis', 1er septembre 1278 au 28 août 1279; Capasso, p. 48.

No. 148. Reg. cit. f. 205. 1279, 7 May, Ind. VII, Torre di S. Erasmo

Justiciario Terre Idronti pro curia et reparandis galeis et teridis que in Morea nunc iverunt. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 149. Reg. Ang. No. 34 (1279 A) f. 112 t. 1279–1280

De Lellis II, p. 877: Nobilibus Castri Galiani tenentibus feudalia in honore militari sub Rogerio Comite Celanensi provisio quod non molestentur ad contribuendum cum aliis dicti Castri pro dictis feudalibus, fol. 112 t°. [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 299: ff. 107–144, 'Just. Aprucii', 15 décembre 1279 au 22 mars 1280; Capasso, p. 49.

No. 150. Reg. cit. f. 217 t. 1279, 11 October, Ind. VIII, Lucera

Justiciario Vallis Gratis. Pro Jordano de Sancto Felice capitaneo insule Curfoy. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 299: ff. 216–223, 'Just. Vallis Gratis', 5 septembre 1279 au 25 mars 1280; Capasso, p. 49.

No. 151. Reg. Ang. No. 35 (1279 B) f. 6. 1280, 13 July, Ind. VIII, Melfi

Magistro portulano Principatus. Pro vassello navigaturo ad partes Acon. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 300: ff. 1–7, 'Magistro portulano Principatus', 24 septembre 1279 au 27 août 1280; Capasso, p. 50.

No. 152. Reg. cit. f. 9. 1279, 29 Septembre, Ind. VIII, Melfi

Magistro portulano Apulie. Pro cancellario Achaye. [Summary B. M.

Cf. Cerone, XLII, p. 6, n. 1, who publishes apparently the same document from Reg. Ang. No. 8 (1270 B) f. 22, already cit. Minieri Riccio, *De' grandi uffiziali del regno di Sicilia*, (? *corr. Cenni storici intorno i grandi uffizii del regno di Sicilia*, Naples, 1872).

Durrieu I, p. 300: ff. 8–27, 'Magistro portulano Apulie', 3 septembre 1279 au 27 août 1280; Capasso, p. 50.

No. 153. Reg. cit. ff. 12 t., 13. 1280, 7 January, Ind. VIII, Naples

Magistris portulanis Apulie. Pro negociis ad terras Paleologi. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 154. Reg. cit. f. 13 t. 1280, 6 February, Ind. VIII, Naples

Magistris portulanis Apulie. Pro victualibus deferendis apud Acon. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 155. Reg. Ang. No. 35 (1279 B) Contd. f. 13 t.
1280, 1 March, Ind. VIII, Belvedere

Magistris portulanis et procuratoribus Apulie. Pro Hospitali . . . in Acon. De extractione frumenti. See note *post* p. 173. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 156. Reg. cit. f. 15 t. 1280, 16 March, Ind. VIII, Torre di S. Erasmo

Magistris portulanis Apulie, frumentum de portu Manfridonie apud Clarentiam conducendum. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 157. Reg. cit. f. 15 t. 1280, 27 March, Ind. VIII, Torre di S. Erasmo

Magistris portulanis Apulie. De deferendis victualibus apud Acon. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 158. Reg. cit. f. 17. 1280, 3 April, Ind. VIII, Torre di S. Erasmo

Portulano Apulie. Pro Leonardo cancellario Achaye. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 159. Reg. cit. f. 20. 1280, 28 April, Ind. VIII, Torre di S. Erasmo

Magistris portulanis et procuratoribus Apulie. Pro transitu usque Ungariam ejusdem comitis (Bartholomeus de Hungaria comes, *ed.*). [Summary B. M.

Cf. F. Carabellese, *Carlo d'Angiò nei rapporti . . . con Venezia e l'Oriente*, p. 129 (1), for an order dated 26–27 April, 1280 from Reg. Ang. No. 8 (1270 B) f. 142, to provide transport for 'Bartholomeus de Hungaria comes' returning to Hungary.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 160. Reg. cit. f. 20 t. 1280, 8 May, Ind. VIII, Naples

Magistris portulanis et procuratoribus Apulie. Pro deferendis victualibus ad terras Paleologi. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 161. Reg. cit. f. 21 t. 1280, 25 May, Ind. VIII, Naples

Magistris portulanis Apulie. Pro Leonardo Cancellario Achaye ad partes Achaye accedente. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 162. Reg. cit. f. 21 t. 1280, 25 May, Ind. VIII, Naples

De transvehendis ad partes Achaye equis ad arma quattuor et roncinos quattuor. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 163. Reg. Ang. No. 35 (1279 B) contd. f. 21 t.

1280, 28 May, Ind. VIII, Naples

De extractione frumenti

Scriptum est Mauro Pironto et Nicolao Castaldo magistris portulanis et procuratoribus Apulie etc. Cum Pascali de Lilla de Barulo fideli nostro extrahendi de portu Manfredonie, Trani vel Baroli frumenti salmas quingentas ad salmam generalem ferendas extra Regnum quocumque voluerit ad vendendum, preterquam ad terras Palialogi inimici nostri seu aliorum inimicorum nostrorum, sub debito jure exiture ad rationem de unciis auri viginti quinque ponderis generalis pro singulis centum salmis licentiam duxerimus concedendam, fidelitati tue precipimus quatenus, recepto prius ab eodem Pascali dicto jure exiture ad rationem predictam, et recepta nichilominus ydonea fidejussoria cautione, quod frumentum ipsum ad predictas terras Palialogi inimici nostri seu aliorum inimicorum nostrorum vel ad aliqua alia loca prohibita non deferat, quodque de exoneratione et venditione ipsius frumenti a domino seu rectore loci in quo frumentum ipsum exonerabitur et vendetur in competenti termino per vos prefigendo eidem, ydoneas vobis referet responsales, de inde predictum Pascalem vel certum nuncium suum pro eo ejus nomine predictas salmas frumenti quingentas ad salmam generalem de altero predictorum portuum, quem ipse voluerit et elegerit, extrahere cum vassello ydoneo et sufficienti capacitate ejusdem sine molestia permictatis, forma super hujusmodi victualium extractionibus per Curiam nostram vobis tradita in omnibus et per omnia inviolabiliter observata; actentius provisuri ne pretestu presencium major vel frumenti seu aliorum victualium vel leguminum quantitas abinde in fraudem nostre Curie extrahatur, sicut personarum nostrarum pericula et rerum dispendia cupitis evitare, pecuniam vero pro exitura predictarum salmarum frumenti quingentarum ab eodem Pascali per vos auctoritate presencium recipiendam ad Cameram nostram Castri Salvatoris ad Mare de Neapoli, quod communiter dicitur Castrum Ovi, sine diminutione qualibet destinare curetis. Datum Neapoli XXVIII maii (VIII indictionis).

[A. W. J.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 164. Reg. cit. f. 23. 1280, 8 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Magistris portulanis Apulie. Pro Domo Templi de extractione victualium apud Acon. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 165. Reg. cit. f. 23 t. 1280, 15 July, Ind. VIII, Melfi

Magistris portulanis Apulie. Pro Cancellario Achaye. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 166. Reg. cit. f. 24 t. 1280, 30 July, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Magistris portulanis Apulie. Pro teridis ituris ad partes Clarentie.

[Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 167. Reg. Ang. No. 35 (1279 B) contd. f. 24 t.
1280, 30 July, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole
Magistris portulanis Apulie pro diversis negociis, Paleologi et Clarentie.
[Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 168. Reg. cit. f. 26. 1280, 18 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole
Magistris portulanis Apulie. De extractione victualium. Acon.
[Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 169. Reg. cit. f. 26 t. 1280, 28 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole
Magistris portulanis Apulie. Pro preceptori domus Milicie Templi in Ungaria.
[Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 170. Reg. cit. f. 26 t. 1280, 30 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole
Magistris portulanis Apulie. Pro preceptori domus Milicie Templi in Ungaria.
[Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 171. Reg. Ang. No. 37 (1279–1280 B) f. 1.
1279, 22 September, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole
Pro Margarita uxore Cancellarii Achaye deferenda propter Manfridoniam.
[Summary B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 301: ff. 1–16, 'Extravagantes', 22 septembre 1279 au 22 janvier 1280; Capasso, p. 51.

No. 172. Reg. cit. f. 3. 1279, 28 September, Ind. VIII, Melfi
Castellano castri Trani (Simoni de Nausamento, *ed.*), Pro obsidibus Ungarie.
[Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 173. Reg. cit. f. 8 t. 1279, 21 December, Ind. VIII, Naples
Jordano de Sancto Felice Capitaneo Curfoy. Pro serviciis Curie.
[Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 174. Reg. cit. f. 27 t. 1280, 29 January, Ind. VIII, Naples
Ursoni Rufulo. De quantitate mercium delatarum de partibus Clarentie.
[Summary B. M.

Cf. F. Carabellese, *Carlo d'Angiò nei rapporti con Venezia e l'Oriente* p. 131 for a similar order to Urso Rufulus as 'Secretus Apulie' for sending corn to Durazzo, Avellona, etc. from Reg. Ang. No. 8 (1270 B).

Durrieu I, p. 301: ff. 17–107, 'Extravagantes', 25 septembre 1279 au 30 août 1280; Capasso, p. 51.

No. 175. Reg. Ang. No. 37 (1279–1280 B) contd. f. 28.

1280, 29 January, Ind. VIII, Naples

De assignandis mercibus

Scriptum est Ursoni Rufulo, Johanicio de Pando, Jacobo Bovi et fratribus, filiis et heredibus quondam Sergii Bovis et Jacobo Rogadeo, fidelibus suis etc. Quia presentes in Curia nostra dixistis esse residuas penes vos in Neapoli et Trano quasdam merces Curie nostre de quantitate mercium delatarum olim de Acon aput Brundusium et aput Neapolim per te predictum Jacobum Bovem pro parte dicti condam Sergii patris tui, te Jacobum Rogadeum pro parte tua, Riccardum de Pando pro parte tui Johannucii de Pando, nec non Nicolaum Papicium, Leonem Sagnellam et Franciscum Gattulam pro parte tui Ursonis, statutos super frumento et ordeo Curie nostre dudum misso ad ipsam terram Acon pro parte ejusdem nostre Curie ad vendum (*sic*), cum tribus navibus, duabus videlicet nostris, una dicta Contissa Scarzaficus, altera Sanctus Marcus et altera tui Iohannicii de Pando, dicta Sanctus Andreas, de quorum victualium precio merces ipse ibidem empte fuerunt, fidelitati vestre sub pena dupli valoris ipsarum mercium districte precipimus quatenus incontinenti merces ipsas, illas videlicet que sunt in Neapoli, Radulpho de Yquilont milite castellano Castri nostri Salvatoris ad Mare de Neapoli intus in castro ipso, et que sunt in Trano, Symoni de Nausament castellano castri nostri ipsius terre intus in eodem castro pro parte nostre Curie assignetis, apodixam ydoneam a quolibet castellanorum ipsorum, de hiis que sibi assignaveritis, recepturus et si forte in assignandis mercibus ipsis vos omnes simul nequiveritis presencialiter comode interesse, nolentes assignatione ipsarum mercium propterea in dampnum Curie nostre differri, illi tantum nostrum qui presentes fuerint assignent incontinenti sine dilacione qualibet merces ipsas significaturi nobis et magistris rationalibus Magne Curie nostre quas et quales merces cuilibet predictorum castellanorum duxeritis assignandas. Datum Neapoli Neapoli (*sic*) die XXVIIII januarii (VIII indictionis). [B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 176. Reg. cit. f. 39. 1280, 17 March, Ind. VIII, Torre di S. Erasmo

Russo de Suliaco capitaneo in partibus Romanie. Pro massariis insule Curfoy.

[Summary B. M.

Note: This is 'Hugo dictus Russus de Suliaco' (de Sully), who is however often addressed merely as Russus de Suliaco; cf. F. Carabellese, *Carlo d'Angiò nei rapporti con Venezia e l'Oriente*, pp. 103–5; but his reference to 'Giovanni Russo' seems to be a misprint for 'Ugo'.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 177. Reg. cit. f. 45 t. 1280, 29 March, Ind. VIII, Torre di S. Erasmo

Jordano de Sancto Felice Capitaneo Curfoy. Pro servientibus missis in insula.

[Summary B. M.

Cf. C. Minieri Riccio, *Il Regno di Carlo I, 1273–1285*, *A.I.S.* 4ª serie, t. III, p. 9 (3) where a similar document is reported for 28 March from Reg. Ang. No. 30 (1278 B), f. 215.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 178. Reg. Ang. No. 37 (1279–1280 B) contd. f. 48 t.

1280, 1 April, Ind. VIII, Capua

Portulano Brundusii. Victus et alia necessaria pro personis ituris Clarentiam. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 179. Reg. cit. f. 53. 1280, 12 April, Ind. VIII, Capua

Portulano Brundusii. Pro victualibus Principatus Achaye. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 180. Reg. cit. f. 53 t.

1280, 12 April, Ind. VIII, Torre di S. Erasmo, near Capua

Scriptum est Galeraymo de Ivriaco miles, regni Sicilie senescallo et in principatu Achaye balio et vicario generali, dilecto consiliario, familiari et fideli suo etc. Volumus et celsitudini nostre placet quod de moneta sicle nostre Clarentie, que de argento nostro illuc misso de istis partibus cusa fuit et ibi de mandato nostro servatur, facias stipendiariis nostris ipsarum parcium pro ipsorum stipendiis provideri, sicut tibi videbitur expedire; preterea cum quidam mercatores regnicole, fideles nostri, cum salmis frumenti mille de permissione vestra sint venturi Clarentiam, poteris si opus erit precium ejusdem frumenti mutuo pro nostris servitiis recipere ab eisdem, factis sibi per te proinde tuis licteris ad cautelam, ex quarum tenore contractum ipsius mutui aperte colligere ac de ipsius restitucione providere possimus. Datum apud Turrim sancti Herasmi prope Capuam die XII aprilis (VIII indictionis). [B. M.

Cf. C. Minieri Riccio, *Il Regno di Carlo I, 1273–1285*, *A.S.I.* 4ª serie, t. 3, p. 13 (3), who summarizes this letter and runs it together with the following, *post*, No. 181.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 181. Reg. cit. f. 53 t.

1280, 12 April, Ind. VIII, Torre di S. Erasmo, near Capua

Scriptum est eidem etc. (Galeraymo de Ivriaco). Innotuit excellentie nostre quod nonnulli Turchi et Cumani armigeri, in partibus ipsis ad servitia nostra morantes, quos sola quondam magnifici viri G[uillelmi] principis Achaye in gagiis et equorum restitutionibus provisio substentabat, et laborent inopia, quod non habent unde vivant, eis itaque qui nostris non desunt vacare serviciis provisionem munificam deesse nolentes, volumus et mandamus tibi quod hujusmodi Turchis et Cumanis, in armorum cultu ad servicia nostra morantibus, in gagiis et equorum restitutionibus de pecunia Curie nostre, que per manus Thesaurarii nostri tecum morantis est vel erit, provideas prout per predictum principem providebatur eisdem; subjungimus etiam et mandamus quod, si quod ex hostibus equites vel pedites armigeros ad te tranfugere fortasse contigerit, eos tam curabatur (*sic*, *ed.*) et benigne recipias quod possint alios trahere per exemplum. Datum ut supra (apud Turrim sancti Herasmi prope Capuam XII aprilis VIII indictionis). [B. M.

See Note to No. 180; William II of Villehardouin, Prince of Achaia, d. 1278.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 182. Reg. Ang. No. 37 (1279–1280 B) contd. f. 62 t.
1280, 15 May, Ind. VIII, Naples

Portulano Brundusii. Pro Galeramo de Ivriaco senescallo (Regni Sicilie et Vicario generali Principatus, *ed.*) Achaye. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 183. Reg. cit. f. 68. 1280, 4 June, Ind. VIII, Naples

Colino Venatore. De teridis viginti pro Imperatore Constantinopolitano. [Summary B. M.

Cf. *post*, No. 242 for another copy from Reg. Ang. No. 39, f. 65 of the same document with the address in a variant form 'Sabino Venatori'.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 184. Reg. cit. f. 70. 1280, 24 June, Ind. VIII, S. Gervasio

Capitaneo et magistro massario insule Curfoy. Pro equis assignandis. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 185. Reg. cit. f. 75. 1280, 12 July, Ind. VIII, Melfi

Paulo de Guisa Capitaneo (? *ed.*) Sicilie. Pro victualibus mictendis apud Acon. [Summary B. M.

Note: Paulus de Guisa was 'magister massarius Sicilie', cf. *post*, No. 189.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 186. Reg. cit. f. 75. 1280, 11 July, Ind. VIII, Melfi

Rogerio de Sancto Severino etc. Pro mictendis rebus aliis in Acon. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 187. Reg. cit. f. 75 t. 1280, 13 July, Ind. VIII, Melfi

Herberto de Aureliano (Vicario in Sicilia, *ed.*). Pro mictendis victualibus in Acon.

Note: Herbert was created Vicar of Sicily, April 1280. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 188. Reg. cit. f. 80. 1280, 31 July, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Simoni de Bellovidere. (Vice Ammirato a flumine Tronti usque Cotronum, *ed.*) Pro quarrellis pro munitione castrorum in Achaya. [Summary B. M.

Cf. *post*, No. 244 (Reg. Ang. No. 39 (1280 B) f. 87), with the date 1280, 13 July, Melfi.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 189. Reg. Ang. No. 37 (1279–1280 B) contd. f. 81–81 t.
1280, 11 July, Ind. VIII, Melfi

De mictendis victualibus ad Rogerium de Sancto Severino.

Scriptum est Mattheo Rufulo de Ravello etc. cum pro usu et ad opus gentis nostre morantis apud Acon in comitiva nobilis viri Rogerii de Sancto Severino comitis Marsici, in Regno nostro Jerosolimitano vicarii, dilecti consiliarii, familiaris, et fidelis nostri, subscriptam quantitatem victualium, leguminum et aliarum rerum de partibus Sicilie ad terram ipsam providerimus destinandam, videlicet: salmas frumenti quadringentas, ordei salmas mille ducentas ad salmam generalem, carnium salitarum mezinas trecentas sexàginta quinque, casei pecias mille centum, fabarum salmas quinquaginta, cicerum salmas triginta et ferrorum equinorum cum clavis eorum tria milia ac alias salmas frumenti duo milia que in predicta terra Acon subscripto modo volumus pro parte Curie nostre vendi, rerum ipsarum omnium missionem tibi quem in ea diligenter credimus inveniri duximus commictendum, fidelitati tue sub pena unciarum auri ducentarum et totius dampni et interesse, quod si secus feceris serviciis nostris evenerit, firmiter injungentes quatenus statim, receptis presentibus, requiras et recipias vel recipi facias a Paulo de Guisa de Aversa magistro massariarum nostrarum Sicilie predictam quantitatem casei, carnium salitarum, fabarum et cicerum, de caseo, carnibus et leguminibus massariarum ipsarum que sunt per manus suas et si forte quantitatem totam rerum hujusmodi vel partem ex eis aliquam non haberet quam tibi assignare nequiret habitis et receptis ab eo certificationis sue licteris ad Guillelmum de Aubervilleriis, justiciarium Sicilie citra Flumen Salsum, de tota quantitate rerum ipsarum quam tibi assignaverit et quam de summa predicta non habuerit nec potuerit assignare, tu una cum eodem justiciario provisionem et collationem habeas diligentem de tota quantitate pecunie oportuna, tam pro emendis caseo, carnibus et leguminibus ipsis vel parte ipsorum, quam forte tibi dictus massarius non assignaverit et pro delatura eorum omnium de locis in quibus recepta et empta fuerint dicto modo usque ad portum ubi onerationem hujusmodi pro meliori Curie nostre comodo magis elegeris faciendum pro conducendo etiam vassello aliquo seu vassellis cum marinariis et personis aliis necessariis eorumdem sufficientibus et ydoneis pro tota predicta quantitate frumenti, ordei et rerum omnium aliarum in eis ad predictam terram Acon salubriter deferenda, quam pro onerandis victualibus et rebus ipsis in vassello seu vassellis eisdem pecuniam ipsam totam pro hiis omnibus taliter oportunam secundum quod vos ambo pro utilitate Curie nostre duxeritis providendum, ab eodem justiciario recipias vel recipi facias tui de assignando ea tibi nostras licteras destinamus, et ex ea predicta quantitate casei, carnium et leguminum totam, si totam, vel partem si quam dictus massarius non habuerit et tibi assignare nequiveris (? nequiverit, *ed.*), nec non predictam quantitatem ferrorum de pecunia Curie nostre per vos ambo similiter providendum in necessaria quantitate et recipiendum per te a justiciario supradicto in propinquioribus locis dicto portui ubi oneratio ipsa fiet, in quibus videlicet meliori procuratio nostra foro habere poterunt et cum minoribus expensis ad portum ipsum defferri, emere debeas juxta quod melius poteris utilitatem nostram quantumcumque plus fieri poteris procurandum et quantitatem tam ferrorum ipsorum emptam quam leguminum, casei et carnium salitarum, sive quod a predicto massario totaliter vel in parte recipiatur sive quod predicto modo ematur, ad portum predictum ubi oneratio

ipsa fieri debebit, de quo primo provideas prope quem, videlicet predictam quantitatem frumenti et ordei de illis que per te presente nova recollectione emi mandavimus et in terris maritime conservari habueris congregate, ita quod in eorumdem victualium delatura de longinquis partibus expensis superfluis non gravemur, qui portus statutus sit et ad extractionem victualium deputatus defferri facias cum justis et moderatis expensis de predicta pecunia facienda, de qua etiam pecuniam predictam vassellum seu vassella convenientia et ydonea pro predictis omnibus defferendis aput Acon, cum marinariis et personis eorum necessariis, justo et competenti naulo, conducas, cum plena tamen noticia et conscientia predicti justiciarii quem in conducendis eis volumus interesse et in eisdem vassello seu vassellis victualia ipsa omnia de emptis per te modo predicto et res alias omnes predictas decenter et salubriter facias onerari, cum necessariis expensis per te predictam pecuniam Curie nostre utiliter facienda attentius provisurus, quod sic in negotio ipso fideliter procedatur, ut in nonnullo Curie nostre contingat modo quolibet defraudari et quod predicta victualia et legumina nova sint et munda, recollecta presente nova recollectione victualium, nec corrupta, putrefacta, madefacta nec in aliquo devastata et relique alie res predicte bone sint sufficientes et bene durabiles, cum de omni eorum insufficientia vel defectu tibi totaliter incumbamus et te velimus in integrum Curie nostre teneri; quibus omnibus oneratis in vassellis predictis eligas, statuas et proponas toto eidem oneri loco tui duos probos sufficientes et fideles viros de quibus tamquam de te ipso confidas, de quorum fide et sufficientia tibi immediate et totaliter inheremus, qui cum vassellis, victualibus et rebus predictis omnibus apud Acon se conferant, ea diligenter et salubriter conservantes, ac statim quod illuc applicuerint, assignent pro parte nostra predicto comite ac magistro Petro de Stampis Thesaurario nostro deputato cum eo de predicta quantitate frumenti salmas quadringentas tantum ad salmam generalem Regni et reliquas omnes predictas quantitates ordei, leguminum ac rerum etiam aliarum pro usu eorum et gentis nostre cum comite ipso morantis, et exinde recipiant ab eis pro parte tua ydoneam apodixam ea omnia contin . . . cum statu, qualitate et condicione ipsorum particulariter et distincte in tuo ratiocinio producendum; reliquas vero salmas frumenti due milia in terra ipsa suo loco et tempore vendant pretio quo poterint cariori cum plena conscientia et notitia comitis [et] Thesaurarii predictorum; ita quod nichil inde ipsos lateat quoquomodo fiant etiam particulari vendicione ipsius frumenti, sicut de die in diem facti fuerint quaterni tres consimiles continentes nomina emptorum, quantitate cuilibet eorum vendere, ad quam rationem et pro quanta pecunie quantitate, unus videlicet per eosdem nuncios tuos sigillandum sigillis comitis et Thesaurarii eorumdem quem statim post eorum reditum nobis et Magistris Rationalibus Magne Curie nostre mictas, alius per eumdem comitem sigillandum sigillis dicti Thesaurarii et nunciorum ipsorum et per ipsum Thesaurarium sigilletur sigilli dicti comitis et eorumdem nunciorum, ut de quaternis ipsis debito tempore collactio fieri possit, quantitatem vero pecunie predicti nuncii tui de venditione ipsius frumenti perceperint, nulla ex ea receptione penitus facienda predictis comite et Thesaurario per eosdem nuncios statuas et facias nomine mutui assignari, in presentia tamen et cum plena notitia venerabilis magistri Sacre Domus Militie Templi in Acon, vel si ipse presens non esset, venerabilis magistri Sacre Domus Hospitalis ibidem et idem nuncii nostri de assignatione ipsius pecunie dictis comite et Thesaurario in alterius ipsorum magistrorum presencia, nomine mutui taliter faciendum, recipiat ab eis scriptum ydoneum ad

cautelam sigillis eorum propriis communitum quod sit bonum et sufficiens cum inde tibi totaliter incumbamus, et statim quod nuncii ipsi redient nulla mora protracta cum omnibus rationibus tuis quas exinde habueris, ac scripto predicto sub predicta pena coram Magistris Rationalibus Magne Curie nostre compareant, debitum exinde computum positurus, mandato a nobis alio super hoc nullatenus expectato. Super quorum omnium destinacione festina eam sollicitudinem et curam adhibeas vel facias adhiberi, quod hoc presente tempore ad navigandum congruo antequam labatur et tempus superveniat yemale ea omnia ad dictam terram Acon bene et salubriter missa sint, nullo in hoc modo quolibet interveniente deffectu quia si, quod absit, deffectus evenerit, totum dampnum incommodum et interesse quod ob occasionem more tuo Curiam nostram de hiis subire contigerit quasi non modicum esse, a te fatemur cum pena publica irrevocabiliter extorqueri, omnem tibi ex nunc remissionem seu gratiam excludentes, et ut diligentiam tuam in hiis habendum scire possimus ad plenum, volumus et mandamus tibi expresse ut diem quo predicto vassello seu vassellis cum predictis victualibus et rebus aliis de portu recedent et de quo ad predictas partes felici omine profectura cum toto processu tuo quem habueris in premissis nobis et predictis Magistris Rationalibus per licteras tuas scribi facturus et recepturus de omnibus quo predicto modo dederis et receperis apodixas ydoneas ad cautelam. Datum Melfie XI julii (VIII indictionis).

[B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 190. Reg. Ang. No. 37 (1279–1280 B) contd. f. 81 t.

1280, 13 July, Ind. VIII, Melfi

Mattheo Rufulo. De vendendo frumento apud Clarentiam. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 191. Reg. cit. f. 84. 1280, 15 July, Ind. VIII, Melfi

Jordano de Sancto Felice, capitaneo Curfoy. Pro gagiis.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 192. Reg. cit. f. 84 t. 1280, 23 July, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

(Mattheo *ed.*) Rufulo de Ravello. De exoneratione navis pro faciendo viagio de Sicilia in Clarentiam. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 193. Reg. cit. f. 86 t. 1280, 3 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Pro Biscotto

Scriptum est eidem (Simoni de Bellovidere) etc. Cum per Maurum Pirontum et Nicolaum Castaldum, magistros portulanos et procuratores Apulie, de biscotto Curie, quod est per manus eorum, cantaria mille ad cantarum generale ad partes Achaye mandaverimus destinari assignando ibidem Girardo de Marsilia capitaneo decem galearum nostrarum in ipsis partibus commorancium sicut eis nostris damus licteris in mandatis, proviso quod una de teridis Curie nostre per te solidatis et armatis ad hoc deputari debeat, et si terida ipsa tocius predicte quantitatis capax non fuerit, illud quod inde restiterit inter alias teridas quinque cum Philippo de Gonessa regni Sicilie marescallo, in

principatu Achaye balivo et vicario generali ad partes ipsas transfretaturo onerari debeat et per eosdem magistros portulanos ad dictum capitaneum destinari, fidelitati tue precipimus quatenus, postquam tota predicti biscotti quantitas aput Brundusium delata fuerit pro oneranda in ea quantitate ipsa ad partes predictas deferenda, unam cum predictis teridis Curie nostre per te solidatam et armatam ad viagium supradictum debeas computare; et si forte tota quantitas ipsa in eadem terida onerari non poterit, quantitatem inde restantem inter alias predictas teridas cum dicto marescallo transfretaturas per eosdem magistros portulanos mandes et facias onerari, sic quod tota quantitas predictorum mille cantariorum biscotti tam cum predicta una terida quam cum aliis quinque teridis ad partes Achaye supradictas integre deferentur et, quia eisdem magistris portulanis per licteras nostras injungimus ut preter predicta mille cantaria biscocti alia trecenta cantaria de predicto biscotto Curie nostre, quod est per manus ipsorum, aput Brundusium mictere et (tibi, *ed.*) pro serviciis nostris ibidem assignare procurent, volumus et tue fidelitati precipimus quatenus ipsa trecenta cantaria biscotti ab eis vel eorum nunciis in eadem terra Brundusii pro parte Curie nostre recipere et pro eisdem serviciis nostris conservare procures; quibus de ipsorum trecentorum cantariorum biscotti receptione ad eorum cautelam ydoneam facias apodixam. Datum ut supra (aput Lacumpensilem die III augusti VIII indictionis). [B. M.

Cf. *post*, No. 247 for a second copy of this document with slight variants, generally more correct, except for the name of 'Nicolaum Castaldum', which is there given as 'Franciscum Castaldum'.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 194. Reg. Ang. No. 37 (1279–1280 B) contd. f. 87.
1280, 12 July, Ind. VIII, Melfi

Jordano de Sancto Felice, capitaneo Curfoy. Pro castro Panorme.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 195. Reg. cit. f. 88, 88 t. 1280, 2 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Commissio

Scriptum est Manfredo dicto de Lacupensule habitatori Potencie fideli suo etc. de fide, prudencia et legalitate tua confisi te magistrum procuratorem omnium terrarum nostrarum Principatus Achaye necnon magistrum omnium araciarum et massariarum nostrarum, quas habemus in partibus ipsis, quibuslibet aliis inde amotis, usque ad nostrum beneplacitum duximus statuendum, fidelitati tue firmiter et districte mandantes quatenus statim receptis presentibus ad partes ipsas presencialiter debeas te conferre et terras ipsas omnes cum vineis, jardenis, olivetis, domibus, molendinis, furnis et possessionibus aliis Curie nostre, quas habemus in terris ipsis ac massarias et aracias nostras, si que in partibus ipsis sunt, cum animalibus, victualibus et aliis utensilibus eorumdem, diligenter et fideliter tamquam bonus paterfamilias pro parte Curie nostre debeas procurare, et possessiones ipsas excoli et laborari facias sicut decet, necnon campos et animalia massariarum ipsarum frequenter et sepe requiras et visites et ad oculum videas ac instes sollicitudine opportuna, ut in campis ipsis bene et continue laborent, bona et ampla sentencia diligenter ac studiose fiant et sata bene colantur et custodiantur ac victualia satorum ipsorum studiose et fideliter reponantur temporibus oportunis ut

nulla in hiisfraus, circumvencio seu negligentia commictatur; animalia etiam omnia massariarum nostrarum diligenter, fideliter et sollicite custodiantur vel nulla ex eis vel fetibus eorumdem defectu custodie seu negligentia qualibet mori, subtrahi vel modo quolibet alienari contingat in Curie nostre dampnum cum deinde defectu si quis in predictis affuerit tibi nostra Curia immitatur; Volumus insuper et mandamus ut in massariis ipsis non delecteris in multitudine familie nec etiam tui submassarii delectentur, sed illi tantum ad servicia massariarum ipsarum retineantur quod necessarii, utiles, ydonei et sufficientes fuerint pro congrua procuracione camporum et diligente custodia animalium ac aliis negociis massariarum ipsarum, ut pro superfluo numero hujusmodi personarum expensas subire inutiliter nostra Curia non contingat et campi, animalia et negocia alia ipsarum massariarum utiliter et commode procurentur, jumenta omnia, stallones, scactas (?), pultros, pultras, mulos, mulas, et asinos ac equitaturas singulas, et animalia quelibet araciarum ipsarum, per pilaturas, balsanaturas et mercaturas eorum, necnon utensilia quelibet et res singulas ac jura quelibet deputata ad comodum servicium et utilitatem araciarum ipsarum, que hucusque in partibus ipsis procurate fuerunt, procures et facias cum omni diligentia pro parte nostre Curie procurari et super meliorandis et augmentandis terris, possessionibus et massariis et araciis ipsis ac animalibus earumdem eam curam, diligentiam et sollicitudinem semper adhibeas et facias adhiberi, quod, sic speramus et credimus, contencionis nostre existit, terre, possessiones, massarie et aracie ipse augmentum et melioracionem suscipiant tua solercia faciente, et semper aracias ipsas in locis bonis, aptis et congruis in quibus inveniatur copia pascuorum et aque et alias bene et salubriter esse possint, et specialiter in locis illis in quibus usque nunc esse consueverint, studeas et facias commorari: Damus quoque tibi plenariam potestatem amovendi prepositos araciarum ipsarum et substituendi in eodem servicio, si expedire videris, ac de novo statuendum, si ibi non fuerint sufficientes, ydoneos et fideles in numero condecenti, considerato numero et qualitate animalium araciarum ipsarum per quos servicium ipsum bene et diligenter fiat ad Curie nostre comodum et profectum; nostra tamen Curia tibi exinde totaliter incumbente ut singula animalia araciarum ipsarum bene et utiliter procurentur et quod ex eorum fetibus utilitatem quam decet et bonam ac fertilem nostra Curia consequatur, pultras autem et pultros quas et quos ex fetibus jumentorum araciarum ipsarum toto officii tui tempore statim, quod ferrum ad mercandum sustinere poterunt, et ecciam alia animalia araciarum ipsarum que inveneris non mercata necnon et omnia alia que officii tui tempore undecumque reciperis que mercata non fuerint, merco Curie nostre ad florem de lisa, te presente apto et competenti tempore predicto merco Curie nostre facias mercari, quod mercum recipias a Philippo de Gonessa regni Sicilie marescallo, balivo, et vicario nostro generali in predicto principatu Achaye militi, familiari et fideli nostro, vel ab illo cui ipse hoc commiserit, restituendum sibi vicequalibet statim quod hujus (?) animalia fuerint per te predicto merco Curie nostre mercata, ita quod post mercacionem predictorum animalium mercum ipsum medio tempore non remaneat aput te et in araciis ipsis nulla animalia remaneant inmercata merco predicto: Volumus preterea et mandamus tibi ut ad requisitionem ipsius Philippi de Lagonessa pecuniam, victualia et alia singula necessaria pro solidis et municione castrorum nostrorum parcium predictarum, necnon pro solvendis gagiis nostris in comitiva sua in eisdem partibus deputatis, de proventibus et redditibus ipsarum terrarum possessionum massariarum et araciarum, que erunt per manus tuas,

tibi (*corr:* sibi, *ed.*) debeas exhibere, a quo de hiis que sibi dederis recipias ad tui cautelam ydoneam apodixam; reliquam vero quantitatem pecunie victualium, animalium et aliarum rerum percipiendarum per te pro parte Curie nostre de terris, possessionibus, massariis et araciis ipsis ad opus nostrum secundum mandatum et ordinacionem et designationem ipsius Philippi diligenter et fideliter conserves et facias conservari, factis nichilominus in procurandis terris, colendis possessionibus, custodiendis et conservandis massariis et araciis ipsis ac animalibus earumdem expensis justis, necessariis, moderatis de pecunia supradicta, que fines modestie aliquatenus non excedant: Et statim quod ad partes ipsas te contuleris fieri facias quatuor puplica consimilia instrumenta, continencia formam presencium, nomina terrarum Curie nostre ipsius Principatus annuos redditus et proventus, tam ipsarum terrarum quam vinearum, domorum et aliarum possessionum, quas Curia nostra habet in terris ipsis, per partes et membra particulariter et distincte necnon massarias ipsas cum domibus, vineis, jardenis, furnis, molendinis, si qua sunt ibi alii quod possessionibus singulis, animalibus, victualibus satis, suppellectilibus et utensilibus et generaliter cum rebus singulis cujuscumque generis et speciei existant in massariis ipsis, cum expressione et distinctione, quantitate et qualitate rei cujuslibet et cum distinctione, qualitate et quantitate et sexus ac mercorum animalium quorumlibet pilaturarum et balsanaturarum, equitaturarum quarumlibet massariarum et araciarum ipsarum, necnon utensilibus eorumdem, quorum unum celsitudini nostre, aliud Magistris Rationalibus trasmictas, tercium dicto Philippo assignes, et quartum tibi retineas producenda tue tempore racionis: Commictimus etiam tibi et presencium auctoritate mandamus, ut questiones singulas criminales et civiles que in terris ipsis coram te mote fuerint terminare debeas, sicut juris fuerit et secundum consuetudinem regionis, et pecuniam, quam videlicet acquisiveris in necessariis et utilibus serviciis nostris ipsarum parcium, convertere debeas juxta requisicionem et mandatum ipsius Philippi, et sicut videris expedire recipias et in scriptis a Galeraymo de Yvriaco, regni Sicilie senescallo, dudum vicario nostro in partibus ipsis, sub sigillo ipsius, questiones omnes que coram eo in predictis partibus mote et per ipsum comminate minime extiterunt ac mandata nostra omnia sibi directa que execucioni debite non mandavit, et questiones ipsas terminare et predicta mandata exequi debeas in hiis in quibus terminanda et exequenda remanserunt per eum: De singulis vero locationibus terrarum, possessionum et aliorum jurium que in partibus ipsis habemus et de tota pecunia, quam eidem Philippo assignaveris seu pro aliis serviciis nostris ipsarum parcium expenderis, confici facias anno quolibet tres quaternos consimiles, quorum unum tibi retineas, alium dicto Philippo assignes, et tercium sub sigillo tuo dictis Magistris Racionalibus debeas destinare. Et quia nolumus te in predictis serviciis nostris expensis propriis laborare, placet nobis et volumus ut de predicta pecunia Curie nostre que erit per manus tuas expensas tibi retineas pro te, duobus scuteriis et tribus equis ad rationem de granis auri tredecim inter homines et equum per diem quamdiu in predictis nostris serviciis moram trahes, et uni notar[io] quem te habere volumus prescribendis rationibus predicti officii similiter expensas sibi exhibeas de pecunia supradicta pro se et equo uno ad predictam rationem de granis tresdecim inter homines et equum per diem donec tecum in predictis nostris serviciis moram trahet. Datum apud Lacumpensulem die II augusti, (VIII indictionis).

[A. W. J.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 196. Reg. Ang. No. 37 (1279–1280 B) contd. f. 89, 89 t.
1280, 5 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

De recipiendis et liberandis ipsis pultris

Scriptum est Philippo de Lagonessa regni Sicilie marescallo, balivo et vicario generali in Principatu Achaye, dilecto militi, consiliario, familiari et fideli suo etc. scire volumus fidelitatem tuam quod nos mictimus ad presens ad partes Achaye, cum teridis Curie nostre illuc tecum pro nostris serviciis profecturis per Michaelem de Braya vallectum fidelem nostrum de equis Curie nostre subscriptarum marescallarum nostrarum Apulie, equos quinquaginta pilature, balsanature et temporis subdistincti, mercatos merco Curie ad florem de lisa, appreciatos valere comuni extimacione subscripta ad generale pondus pecunie quantitatem videlicet: de marescalla sancti Gervasii qui fuerunt de araciis Calabrie annorum quinque in sex pultrum unum balsanum pede sinistro posteriori appreciatum pro unciis sex; pultrum alium morellum balsanum a fronte usque ad mussum et pedibus posterioribus appreciatum pro unciis sex; pultrum alium bayum balsanum a fronte usque ad mussum et pede sinistro anteriori appreciatum pro unciis septem. Item de eadem marescalla de tribus annis in quatuor de araciis Capitinate anno septimo indictionis allaqueatos pultrum unum saurum balsanum in fronte et musso [et] pede sinistro posteriori appreciatum pro unciis octo; pultrum unum saurum balsanum a fronte usque ad mussum et omnibus pedibus appreciatum pro unciis sex; pultrum unum morellum sine balsanatura appreciatum pro unciis septem; pultrum unum morellum balsanum a fronte usque ad mussum et pede sinistro posteriori appreciatum pro unciis sex; pultrum unum bayum cum tibiis et crinis nigris appreciatum pro unciis octo. Item de marescalla Corneti de quattuor annis in quinque de araciis Basilicate pultrum unum bayum balsanum a fronte usque ad mussum et pede sinistro anteriori et posteriori appreciatum pro undeciis (*sic*) undecim; pultrum unum saurum cum parva stella in fronte appreciatum pro unciis duodecim; pultrum unum bayum balsanum a fronte usque ad mussum et omnibus pedibus cum auricula sinistra fixa cum oculo albo, de quo non vidit, appreciatum pro unciis septem; pultrum unum bayum cum paucis pilis albis in fronte appreciatum pro unciis septem; pultrum unum bayum stellatum in fronte et balsanum pedibus posterioribus appreciatum pro unciis duodecim; pultrum unum bardum obscurum balsanum pedibus posterioribus appreciatum pro unciis octo; pultrum unum morellum sine aliqua balsanatura appreciatum pro unciis duodecim; pultrum unum morellum sine aliqua balsanatura appreciatum appreciatum (*sic*) pro unciis duodecim; pultrum unum morellum per totum appreciatum pro unciis septem; pultrum unum saurum stellatum in fronte appreciatum pro unciis undecim. Item de marescalla Orte de quattuor annis in quinque de araciis Calabrie pultrum unum saurum balsanum a fronte usque ad mussum appreciatum pro unciis sex. Item de eadem marescalla Orte de quatuor annis in quinque de araciis Capitinate pultrum unum morellum balsanum in musso et pede destro posteriori appreciatum pro unciis octo; pultrum unum bardum stellatum in fronte et balsanum pede destro posteriori appreciatum pro unciis octo; pultrum unum saurum brunum balsanum in fronte usque ad mussum et pede sinistro posteriori appreciatum pro unciis septem; pultrum unum bardum balsanum a fronte usque ad mussum et pede destro anteriori et posterioribus appreciatum pro unciis novem. Item de eadem marescalla Orte de tribus annis in quatuor de araciis Basilicate pultrum

unum bayum cum tibis (*sic*) nigris appreciatum pro unciis octo; pultrum unum bayum cum crinis nigris appreciatum pro unciis octo; pultrum unum saurum balsanum a fronte usque ad mussum, pedibus anterioribus et sinistro posteriori appreciatum pro unciis quinque; pultrum unum morellum balsanum in fronte et pedibus posterioribus appreciatum pro unciis septem; pultrum unum bayum obscurum balsanum a fronte usque per totum mussum et omnibus pedibus appreciatum pro unciis sex; pultrum unum bardum cum tibia destra anteriori torta de qua non claudicat appreciatum pro unciis novem; pultrum unum falvum cum lista nigra supra dorsum appreciatum pro unciis quinque; pultrum unum saurum balsanum a fronte usque ad mussum, pede sinistro anteriori et pedibus posterioribus appreciatum pro unciis octo; pultrum unum morellum sine aliqua balsanatura appreciatum pro unciis quinque; pultrum unum bayum balsanum in fronte et musso et pede destro anteriori appreciatum pro unciis septem; pultrum unum bayum clarum appreciatum pro unciis quinque; pultrum unum bayum balsanum a fronte usque ad mussum et omnibus pedibus appreciatum pro unciis septem; pultrum unum bayum cum tibiis nigris appreciatum pro unciis quinque; pultrum unum saurum stellatum in fronte et balsanum in fronte appreciatum pro unciis quinque; pultrum unum bayum appreciatum pro unciis septem; pultrum unum morellum stellatum in fronte et balsanum pedibus anterioribus parum appreciatum pro unciis novem; pultrum unum bayum cum parva stella in fronte balsanum pede destro anteriori et posteriori appreciatum pro unciis quinque; pultrum unum bayum obscurum balsanum pedibus posterioribus, destro tamen parum, appreciatum pro unciis septem; pultrum unum bardum obscurum cum parva balsanatura in fronte et balsanum pedibus anterioribus et sinistro posteriori cum oculo albo appreciatum pro unciis quinque. Item de marescalla Vivarii sancti Laurencii de tribus annis in quattuor de araciis Calabrie pultrum unum morellum balsanum in fronte appreciatum pro unciis sex; pultrum unum bayum cum cauda nigra appreciatum pro unciis septem; pultrum unum bayum balsanum in fronte et parum in musso et balsanum pede destro anteriori appreciatum pro unciis septem; pultrum unum saurum balsanum a fronte usque ad mussum et pedibus posterioribus appreciatum pro unciis septem; pultrum unum bayum cum gambis nigris appreciatum pro unciis quinque; pultrum unum saurum balsanum a fronte usque ad mussum, pede destro anteriori et posterioribus appreciatum pro unciis sex; pultrum unum bayum cum paucis pilis albis in fronte et balsanum pedibus posterioribus appreciatum pro unciis octo, et pultrum unum saurum brunum appreciatum pro unciis octo; fidelitati tue mandantes quatenus postquam equi predicti ad easdem partes Brundusii delati fuerint pro serviciis nostris ipsos ab eodem Michaele pro parte Curie nostre recipias et de eis stipendiariis nostris in predictis partibus commorantibus illis inde quibus Curia nostra restitucionem facere teneretur pro equis eorum in serviciis nostris mortuis et qui eis magis ad presens indiguerint secundum predictum aprecium restitutionem facias diligentem, qua restitucione facta, illos qui de predictis pultris remanserint facias cum diligentia custodiri ut cum expediens fuerit pro nostris serviciis habeantur vel restituantur eis, qui de cetero pro equis eorum erit restitucio facienda; significaturus nobis et Magistris Rationalibus Magne Curie nostre nomine ipsorum stipendiariorum quibus predictam restitucionem feceris, de quibus pultris pro quanta pecunie quantitate et quantitate etiam que penes te inde remanserit cum valore apprecii eorumdem cui Michaeli receptione ipsorum pultrorum ydoneam facias apodixam. Sciturus quod eidem et viginti quinque scutiferis deputatis

ad custodiam ipsorum pultrorum solute sunt de Camera nostra gagia pro diebus viginti duobus a tercio presentis mensis augusti in antea numerandum pro quibus nulla gagia eis debeas exhibere, quos equos in quinque teridis cum quibus transfretare debes locari facias et ad partes easdem transferri prout Symoni de Bellovidere viceammirato etc. per nostras dedimus licteras in mandatis de locandis equis predictis. Datum aput Lacumpensilem die V augusti (VIII indictionis). [B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 197. Reg. Ang. No. 37 (1279–1280 B) contd. f. 90 et t.
1280, 8 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Scriptum est Philippo de Lagonessa regni Sicilie marescallo, balivo et vicario generali in principatu Achaye etc. Scire te volumus quod pro transitu tuo, familie tue et gentis nostre venture tecum ad partes predictas, teridas sex per Symonem de Bellovidere viceammiratum etc. mandavimus deputari, injuncto etiam per licteras nostras Pascali de Garino prothontino Brundusii cum duabus galeis et uno galeone ad custodiam maritime Apulie deputatis, quibus de mandato culminis nostri preest, tecum in comitiva dictarum teridarum debeat transfretare, necnon et eidem viceammirato ut de nullo quatringentis cantariis biscotti mictendis et assignandis ei in Brundusio de mandato nostro per Maurum Pirontum et Nicolaum Castaldum magistros portulanos et procuratores Apulie et Aprucii, exhibita eidem prothontino quantitate necessaria pro papanatica (sic) ipsorum galeonis et galearum pro mensibus tribus in vassellis ipsis ferenda, superfluam quantitatem videlicet cantaria mille centum onerari et immicti faciat in teridis predictis, si forte ipso bono modo capaces fuerint tocius quantitatis ipsius; et si forte tota hujusmodi quantitas comode onerari et deferri non posset in teridis eisdem, id quod supererit in predictis etiam galeis et galeone onerari faciat et deferri, tue fidelitati mandantes quatenus, postquam transfretaveris et fueris cum vassellis ipsis in partibus supradictis, mictas omnia vassella ipsa cum omnibus ipsis cantariis biscotti mille centum Girardo de Marsilia capitaneo decem galearum in partibus Achaye commorancium et sibi facias assignari, ut distribuantur et exhibeantur per eum pro panatica vassellorum ipsorum, prout sibi per nostras licteras est injunctum; preterea fecimus tibi assignari de Camera nostra penes nos statuta pro solidis predictorum omnium vassellorum, videlicet duarum galearum et unius galeonis, quibus preest prothontinus predictus pro mensibus duobus, necnon sex teridarum tecum navigaturarum et decem galearum nostrarum, quibus preest dictus Girardus, pro mensibus tribus in subscriptis speciebus infrascriptam pecunie quantitatem, videlicet pro predictis duabus galeis et uno galeone, quibus preest prothontinus predictus, pro eisdem duobus mensibus computatis solidis ejusdem prothontini uncias auri ducentas quattraginta unam et tarenos decem et octo ad rationem de unciis auri quinquaginta pro qualibet galea et unciis decem et novem pro galeone predicto. Item pro predictis sex teridis uncias centum quinquaginta et tarenos novem ad rationem de comitis duobus, naucleriis quatuor et marenariis decem et novem pro qualibet teridarum ipsarum, necnon de tarenis viginti septem pro quolibet comite, tarenis tredecim et grana decem pro quolibet nauclerio, et de tarenis septem et medio pro quolibet marinariorum ipsorum per mensem, et pro predictis decem galeis uncias auri mille quingentas ad rationem de unciis auri quinquaginta pro qualibet galearum ipsarum per mensem. Que tota pecunia tibi pro

predictis omnibus solidis de predicta nostra Camera assignata est in summa unciarum mille octingentorum nonaginta unius et tarenorum viginti septem, quam quidem quantitatem pecunie statim quod in predictis partibus fueris, videlicet predictam quantitatem contingentem pro solidis predictarum galearum et unius galeonis, quibus preest predictus prothontinus Brundusii, eidem prothontino assignes et totam reliquam quantitatem contingentem, tam pro solidis predictarum teridarum, quam pro solidis decem galearum, quibus preest predictus Girardus in dictis partibus, eidem Girardo transmictas per fidos et ydoneos nuncios tuos distribuendum per eos pro solidis vassellorum ipsorum sicut habet per nostras licteras in mandatis; fecimus insuper assignari tibi de predicta Camera nostra pro solidis quinque prothontinorum existencium in predictis galeis nostris capitanie predicti Girardi de Marsilia videlicet: Gayete, Iscle, Neapolis, Monopoli, et Vigiliarum, ultra totam predictam quantitatem pecunie, alias uncias auri viginti septem pro predictis mensibus tribus ad rationem de unciis auri una et tarenis viginti quatuor pro quolibet eorum per mensem eidem Girardo similiter cum predicta alia pecunia destinanda, tueque fidelitati precipimus, ut tam pecuniam ipsam quam totam aliam supradictam mictas ipsi Girardo in predictis galeis et galeone, quibus preest prothontinus Brundusii supradictus, injungens ex parte nostra ipsi Prothontino necnon comitis, naucleriis et personis aliis tam ipsorum vassellorum quam predictarum aliarum omnium teridarum, ut cum omnibus vassellis ipsis ad ipsum Girardum se conferant et cum eo sub capitania sua simul cum aliis vassellis vestris sub eo existentibus in nostris serviciis commorentur et sibi ad honorem et fidelitatem nostram de serviciis ipsis pareant et intendant. Ceterum scire te volumus quod dicto Girardo per licteras nostras injungimus quod cum omnibus vassellis ipsis, tam videlicet galeis et galeone, quam teridis et aliis tribus teridis aptis, per eum cum galeis nostris in eisdem partibus remaneat et sit in nostris serviciis usque ad tempus conveniens circa festum beati Andree primo venturi, et festo ipso appropinquante sic habito respectu ad tempus sufficiens pro redditu suo de partibus ipsis usque Brundusium congruo tempore abinde recedat et ad ipsam terram Brundusii revertatur, quod in ipso festo sit presens in eadem terra Brundusii cum omnibus galeis et galeone predictis, assignatis tibi vel nuncio tuo omnibus predictis novem teridis cum omnibus afisis, corredis et garnimentis eorum et toto biscocto pro mortuis et absentibus de predicta quantitate residuo aput eum, marinarios tamen et personas alias teridarum ipsarum reducere debeant in galeis predictis; quas quidem teridas cum omnibus afisis, corredis, garnimentis et biscocto predictis ab eo recipias et facias diligenter et salubriter custodiri et in nostris serviciis sicut expedierit deputari, facturus ei de receptione ipsarum ydoneam apodixam; predicta vero quantitas pecunie tribuenda per te predicto prothontino Brundusii debeat computari eidem prothontino et personis deputatis in galeis et galeone predictis pro solidis et aliis consuetis necessariis eorum usque per totum mensem octubris proximo futuro none indictionis. Addicimus etiam et mandamus tibi quod ad majorem cautelam Curie nostre statuas et ordines aliquem loco tui de quo tanquam de te ipso confidas, qui ad predictum Girardum se conferat et moretur cum predictis galeis, quousque dictus Girardus morabitur in partibus illis pro serviciis nostris, et sciat et videat oculata fide omnem pagam que fiet omnibus personis galearum ipsarum per eumdem Girardum et totum dampnum, si quis affuerit, pro mortuis, fugitivis et absentibus sciat, in scriptis redigat, et pecuniam defectus ipsius quod per predictum Girardum recipi et conservare permictat et in redditu suo ad partes

istas in nostra Camera assignabit; quod predictis per te statuendis significet nobis et magistris rationalibus etc. per licteras suas nomina et cognomina mortuorum, fugitivorum et quantitatem pecunie quam pro predictis defectibus dictus Girardus duxerit retinendum. Preterea assignari fecimus tibi de predicta Camera nostra pro expensis predicti Girardi et Guillelmi de Porte, thesaurarii deputati cum eo, pro predictis tribus mensibus uncias auri novem, videlicet pro expensis predicti Girardi uncias auri sex ad rationem de unciis auri duabus per mensem, et pro expensis predicti Guillelmi uncias auri tres ad rationem de unciis auri una per mensem, quas autem novem predicto Girardo et Guillelmo transmictas cum alia pecunia eidem Girardo mictenda. Qua tota predicta pecunie quantitas continetur in speciebus subscriptis, videlicet in augustalibus et karolensibus auri uncie mille nongente viginti septem. Datum aput Lacumpensulem die VIII augusti (VIII indictionis). [B. M.

Cit. C. Minieri Riccio, *Il Regno di Carlo I, 1273–1285*, *A.S.I.* 4ª serie, t. III, p. 165 (3).

Cf. For the letters to Pascalis de Garino, *post*, No. 200 (and the copy No. 248); for those to Girardus de Marsilia, *post*, No. 202; and for references to those to Maurus Pirontus and Nicolaus Castaldus, *ante*, No. 193, and the copy *post*, No. 247.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 198. Reg. Ang. No. 37 (1279–1280 B) contd. f. 90 t.
1280, 8 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Pro expensis ipsius Philippi

Scriptum est Philippo de Lagonessa regni Sicilie marescallo, balivo et vicario generali in Principatu Achaye, dilecto militi, consiliario, familiari et fideli suo etc. Quia in officio baliatus Principatus Achaye, tibi nuper per excellentiam nostram commisso, te nolumus expensis propriis laborare, volumus et fidelitati tue mandamus quatenus de proventibus predicti Principatus nostri, qui erunt per manus tuas, uncias auri quatringentas per annum, quousque in ipso officio de mandato celsitudinis nostre fueris, pro expensis tuis et familie tue tibi debeas retinere et, quia fecimus tibi assignari de Camera nostra penes nos statuta pro expensis tuis de predictis unciis auri quatringentis, quas per annum ut dictum est recipere debes, uncias auri centum mandamus tibi ut in primis tribus mensibus predicti anni predictas uncias auri centum deducere debeas unum, nec (et? *ed.*) uncias auri trecentas tibi pro eodem anno tibi debeas retinere. Datum aput Lacumpensilem die VIII augusti (VIII indictionis). [B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 199. Reg. cit. f. 90 t. 1280, 8 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Quod assignent pultros

Scriptum est Colardo Pisardi, Alberico de Villa Mestria, Johanni de Vuquechis scutiferis et Johanni de Blesis clerico marescalle sue, familiari et fideli suo etc. fidelitati vestre precipiendo mandamus quatenus incontinenti, receptis presentibus, equos seu pultros quinquaginta inferius destinguendos de equis marescalle nostre Michaeli de Braya familiari et fideli nostro assignare curetis, instanter ducentes aput Brundusium et assignandos ibidem per eum prout sibi mandavimus Philippo de Lagonessa regni Sicilie

marescallo etc. pro serviciis nostris, que in partibus predicti Principatus Achaye sibi per nostram excellentiam sunt concessa, recepta ab eodem Michaeli de ipsis equis quos sibi assignaveris ad vestri cautelam ydoneam apodixam; equi vero predicti quinquaginta quos eidem Michaeli assignare debetis sunt hii videlicet: de marescalla sancti Gervasii quinque annorum in sex, de araciis Calabrie pultrus unus morellus etc. ut continetur in lictera Philippi de Lagonessa de recipiendis ipsis pultris. Datum apud Lacumpensilem die VIII august (VIII indictionis). [B. M.

Cf. *ante*, No. 196, for the letters to Philip de Lagonessa here mentioned.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 200. Reg. Ang. No. 37 (1279–1280 B) contd. f. 90 t.

Quod conferat se ad partes Achaye 1280, 8 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Scriptum est Pascali de Garino prothontino Brundusii etc. Scire volumus fidelitatem tuam quod mictimus tibi per Philippum de Lagonessa, regni Sicilie marescallum, balivum et vicarium generalem in principatu Achaie etc. pro solidis, companagio et aliis consuetis necessariis omnium personarum navigantium in duabus galeis et uno galeone deputatis ad custodiam maritime Apulie et Aprucii, quibus de mandato celsitudinis nostre prees, uncias auri ducentas quatraginta unam et tarenos decem et octo, quas eidem Philippo de Camera nostra penes nos statuta fecimus assignari exhibendas tibi et per te distribuendas personis ipsis pro solidis, companagio et aliis consuetis necessariis predictarum galearum et ejusdem galeonis usque per totum mensem octubris primo future none indictionis; in qua quidem quantitate pecunie communerati sunt et comprehensi solidi persone tue pro eodem tempore ad rationem de unciis auri una et tarenis viginti quatuor pro persona tua, sicut consuetum est per mensem, quos solidos tibi pro predicto tempore de eadem pecunia debeas retinere; propter quod fidelitati tue mandamus expresse quatenus, recepta predicta quantitate pecunie a marescallo prefato, ipsam non simul et semel personis ipsis distribuas, sed de mense in mensem sicut fuerit opportunum dum in serviciis nostris te cum predictis vassellis nostris contigerit commorari; volumus et mandamus tibi firmiter et districte ut statim quod applicueris cum predicto marescallo ad partes principatus Achaie juxta mandatum et requisicionem ipsius conferas te cum ipsis galeis et galeone ad Girardum de Marsilia, capitaneum aliarum decem galearum in partibus Romanie cum ipsis decem galeis de mandato nostri culminis commorantem, et cum eodem Girardo morari debeas in partibus illis pro serviciis nostris sibi commissis et eidem, tanquam capitaneo omnium galearum ipsarum et ejusdem galeonis ad honorem et fidelitatem nostram super predictis serviciis nostris quousque in partibus ipsis morabitur, pareas et intendas; et si forte usque ad festum beati Andree cum predicto Girardo in partibus illis pro eisdem serviciis nostris cum predictis duabus galeis et eodem galeone contigerit commorari, in redditu tuo quem cum predicto Girardo feceris aput Brundusium computabis cum Curia nostra et siquid pro galeis et galeone predictis pro tempore quo in serviciis nostris moratus fueris supplendum tibi fuerit ultra id totum quod inventus fueris pro parte Curie recepisse tibi mandabimus exhiberi. Datum ut supra (apud Lacumpensulem VIII augusti VIII indictionis). [B. M.

Cf. *post*, No. 248 for a copy of this letter; and *ante*, No. 197 for a reference to it.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 201. Reg. Ang. No. 37 (1279–1280 B) contd. f. 91.

1280, 8 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Scriptum est Philippo de Lagonessa etc. Quia ultra numerum stipendiariorum nostrorum, qui de mandato celsitudinis nostre in partibus principatus Achaye pro nostris serviciis commorantur, milites quattuor et scutiferos equites decem ultramontanos tecum in partibus illis in comitiva tua te volumus retinere, fidelitati tue precipimus quatenus ipsos milites quatuor et scutiferos equites decem in partibus ipsis tecum in comitiva tua pro serviciis nostris ad gagium Curie nostre debeas retinere, quibus militibus et scutiferis tamquam de novo receptis facias dimidium mutuum pro primis tribus mensibus, numerandum ab ultima medietate mensis septembris et usque per totam primam medietatem sequentis mensis decembris proximi futuri none indictionis, ad rationem videlicet de unciis auri duabus pro quolibet ipsorum militum et de uncia auri una pro quolibet ipsorum scutiferorum pro dimidio mutuo per mensem, et completis ipsis tribus mensibus, deinde fieri facias eisdem militibus et scutiferis mutuum integrum sicut fiet aliis stipendiariis de mandato nostro morantibus in partibus supradictis. Ita tamen quod quilibet ipsorum militum de persona sua sit decenter armatus et habeat equos quattuor, inter quos sit equus unus ad arma et retineat secum continue armigerum unum nobilem decenter armatum et garciones duos habentes cervellerias, spallerios cum gorgeriis ferreis, enses et cultellos ad punctam, et quilibet ipsorum scutiferorum sit similiter a (*sic, ed.*) persona sua decenter armatus et habeat equos duos, inter quos sit unus ad arma, et garcionem unum predicto modo armatum; preterea quia predictis stipendiariis in eisdem partibus de mandato nostro morantibus videlicet: militibus sexdecim, stipendiariis equitibus centum sexaginta, balestreriis equitibus viginti duobus et balestreriis peditibus octuaginta duobus, mutuum per te fieri volumus pro tribus mensibus numerandis a primo die proximo preterito mensis junii usque per totum presentem mensem agusti presentis VIII indictionis de unciis auri MCCC octuaginta duabus et tarenis duodecim, quas de Camera nostra penes nos statuta tibi fecimus et assignamus, fidelitati tue mandamus quatenus militibus ipsis ad rationem de unciis auri quattuor pro quolibet eorum stipendiariis equitibus, ad rationem de unciis auri duabus pro quolibet ipsorum balistariis balestariis (*sic*) equitibus, similiter balestariis peditibus ad rationem de tarenis auri duobus pro quolibet ipsorum per mensem mutuum ipsum pro predictis tribus mensibus facere debeas de predicta pecunia tibi de nostra Camera propterea specialiter axignata; et si aliqui de predictis quatuor militibus retinendi de novo fuerint de stipendiariis veteribus Curie nostre ipsis mutuum sicut aliis stipendiariis veteribus fieri facias super recipienda vero ab eis mostra quolibet trimestri tempore et deducendis defectibus, si quos habuerint, formam observens que in recipienda monstra stipendiariorum morancium in Curia nostra et deducendis defectibus ipsorum in eodem nostra Curia observantur. Datum aput Lacumpenselem anno Domini MCCLXXX mensis agusti VIII eiusdem indictionis regnorum nostrorum Jerusalem anno IIII Sicilie vero XVI. [B. M.

Cf. *post*, No. 249, for a copy of this letter.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 202. Reg. Ang. No. 37 (1279–1280 B) contd. f. 91 t. et 92.

1280, 8 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Scriptum est Girardo de Marsilia militi, capitaneo decem galearum in partibus Achaye, dilecto familiari et fideli suo etc. Scire te volumus quod Philippo de Lagonessa regni Sicilie marescallo, balivo et vicario generali in principatu Achaye, dilecto militi, consiliario, familiari et fideli nostro, mandavimus assignari in Brundusio per Symonem de Bellovidere, viceammiratum a flumine Tronti usque Cutronum, dilectum militem, familiarem et fidelem nostrum in sex teridis nostris, in quibus ad partes predictas transfretare debet, cantaria biscocti mille centum, et tota hujusmodi quantitas in teridis ipsis comode onerari poterit et deferri et, si forte ipse teride tocius quantitatis ipsius bono modo (non, *ed.*) capaces fuerint, totum id quod de quantitate ipsa supererit onerari faciat et immicti in duabus galeis et uno galeone, quibus preest Pascalis de Garino prothontinus Brundusii, quem cum vassellis eisdem in comitiva ejusdem Philippi mandavimus proficisci, injuncto eidem Philippo per licteras nostras, ut statim quod in ipsis partibus fuerit omnia vassella ipsa, tam videlicet teridas ipsas quam galeas et galeonem cum toto predicto biscocto, ad te mictat et tibi faciat assignari; fecimus etiam assignari eidem Philippo de Camera nostra penes nos statuta pro solidis omnium predictorum vassellorum videlicet: pro predictis galeis et galeone, quibus preest predictus prothontinus Brundusii, pro mensibus duobus et predictis teridis cum eodem marescallo navigaturis et galeis decem, quibus tu prees, pro mensibus tribus in subscriptis speciebus infrascriptam pecunie quantitatem, videlicet pro predictis duabus galeis et uno galeone computatis solidis predicti prothontini pro predictis duobus mensibus uncias auri ducentas quatraginta unam et tarenos decem et octo ad rationem de unciis auri quinquaginta pro qualibet galea et de unciis auri decem et novem pro galeone predicto. Item pro predictis sex teridis uncias auri centum quinquaginta et tarenos novem, ad rationem de unciis duobus nauclerios quatuor et marenarios decem et novem pro qualibet teridarum ipsarum, nencnon (*sic, ed.*) de tarenis viginti septem pro quolibet comitorum, tarenos tredecim et grana decem pro quolibet nauclerio, et de tarenis septem et medio pro quolibet marinariorum ipsorum per mensem, et pro predictis decem galeis uncias auri mille quingentas ad rationem de unciis auri quinquaginta pro qualibet ipsarum galearum per mensem; que tota pecunia sibi pro predictis omnibus solidis de predicta nostra Camera assignata est in summa uncie mille octingente nonaginta una et tareni viginti septem et mandavimus ipsi Philippo per licteras nostras ut, statim quod in partibus ipsis fuerit, predictam quantitatem contingentem pro predictis duabus galeis et uno galeone, quibus preest prefatus prothontinus Brundusii, prefato prothontino assignet, distribuendam et exhibendam per eum pro solidis eorumdem vassellorum sicut habes per nostras licteras in mandatis, et totam predictam alam (*sic*) pecunie quantitatem pro ipsorum omnium vassellorum solidis contingentem tibi per suos fidos et ydoneos nuncios in vassellis ipsis transmictat et faciat assignari, tue fidelitati mandantes quatenus predictam quantitatem biscocti et pecunie recipiens, eandem distribuas et exhibeas pro solidis et panatica ipsorum vassellorum prout fuerit opportunum, tuque in partibus illis in serviciis nostris cum omnibus predictis vassellis remaneas usque ad tempus conveniens circa festum beati Andree primo venturi et, festo ipso appropinquante, sic habito respectu ad tempus sufficiens pro redditu tuo de partibus ipsis usque Brundusium congruo tempore abinde recedas et ad ipsam terram Brundusii revertaris, quod in ipso festo in eadem terra Brundusii presens sis cum

omnibus vassellis ipsis, exceptis predictis teridis et aliis tribus teridis dudum cum galeis nostris per te captis, quas omnes teridas in dictis partibus volumus remanere; marenarios vero ipsarum teridarum sex que venient cum dicto Philippo reducas aput Brundusium cum galeis predictis quas quidem novem teride cum affisis, corredis et garnimentis earum omnibus in ipso recessu tuo assignes pro parte Curie nostre predicto marescallo vel ei, quem super receptione ipsarum statuerit loco sui, apodixam ydoneam exinde recepturus; predictas vero galeas omnes cum affisis, corredis aliisque garnimentis, bacinectis, gambesonibus, et armis omnibus galearum ipsarum in redditu tuo ad ipsam terram Brundusii predicto viceammirato assignes et exinde ab eo recipias ydoneam apodixam; mandavimus insuper prothontino predicto, ut cum predictis duabus galeis et uno galeone, quibus prèest sub capitania tua, in serviciis nostris debeat commorari et tibi de serviciis ipsis tamquam capitaneo nostro pareat et intendat; facimus insuper assignari predicto marescallo de predicta Camera nostra pro solidis quinque prothontinorum existencium in predictis galeis nostris capitanie tue videlicet: Gayete, Yscle, Neapolis, Monopolis et Vigiliarum, ultra predictam quantitatem pecunie alias uncias auri viginti pro mensibus tribus predictis ad rationem de unciis auri una et tarenis viginti quatuor pro quolibet eorum per mensem tibi similiter cum predicta alia pecunia assignandas, tueque fidelitati precipimus ut, recepta pecunia ipsa tota, tam ipsis prothontinis quam comitis, naucleriis superastantibus, marenariis et personis aliis vassellorum omnium predictorum in vassellis ipsis in serviciis nostris presentibus solidos eorum consuetos et debitos et statutos de eadem pecunia non simul et semel pro toto predicto tempore, sed de mense in mensem sicut in serviciis ipsis fuerint largiaris illam, eademque formam in exhibitione predicte panantice servaturus, quod si tutus et integer numerus omnium et singularum personarum ipsarum debitus et statutus in vassellis ipsis non fuerit tempore solucionis predicte et pro illo tempore pro quo solucio ipsa fiet seu ex morte vel absencia aliquorum, totum id quod proporcionaliter pro ipsis mortuis vel absentibus de panatica et solidis ipsis contingerit pro parte Curie nostre deducere et retinere procures, et biscocto proinde retinendo, dicto marescallo, cum de partibus ipsis recesseris, assignes pro panatica illorum vassellorum nostrorum que in illis partibus remanebunt, pecuniam vero de propriis gagiis extenuandam et retinendam pro eisdem defectibus in redituo tuo camere nostre camera assignabis, et exinde ydoneam recipies apodixam; mandamus etiam per easdem licteras nostras predicto marescallo, quod ad majorem cautelam Curie nostre statuat et ordinet aliquem loco sui de quo tamquam de se ipso confidat, qui ad te veniat cum galeis predictis et moretur tecum in partibus ipsis et sciat et videat oculata fide omnem pagam que fiet omnibus personis omnium vassellorum capitanie tue, et totum defectum, si quis affuerit, pro mortuis, fugitivis vel absentibus inscriptis redigat diligenter et pecuniam defectuum eorumdem per te recipi et conservari permictat in reddituo tuo ad partes istas in nostra Camera assignandam; propter quod, volumus quod predictum statuendum tecum admictas et habeas in singulis pagis quas feceris personis omnibus vassellorum ipsorum, ut omnia sciat et videat et in scriptis redigat nomina et cognomina mortuorum singulorum vel absencium et quantitatem pecunie quam pro singulis defectibus ipsorum et pro quo tempore penes te duxeris retinendam et ut de predictis omnibus nobis et magistris rationalibus Magne Curie nostre rescribere possit plenarie voluntarie; mictimus insuper tibi per predictum marescallum et Guillelmo de Perce thesaurario tecum deputato pro expensis tuis predictorum trium mensium uncias auri sex ad rationem de unciis

auri duabus per mensem et predicto Guillelmo pro expensis suis eorumdem trium mensium uncias auri tres ad rationem de unciis auri una per mensem, quas omnes uncias eidem Philippo de camera nostra predicta fecimus assignari tibi per eum cum predicta alia pecunia transmictenda, que tota predicta pecunie quantitas continetur in speciebus subscriptis, videlicet in augustalibus et karolensibus auri uncie mille nongente viginti septem et tareni viginti septem. Datum apud Lacumpensulem VIII augusti (VIII indictionis). [B. M.

Cf. *ante*, No. 197 for a reference to this letter.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 203. Reg. Ang. No. 37 (1279–1280 B) contd. f. 92 t.
1280, 8 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Pro transitu Philippi de Lagonessa

Scriptum est Symoni de Bellovidere etc. Quia Philippum de Lagonessa regni Sicilie marescallum, balivum et vicarium generalem in principatu Achaye, dilectum militem etc. cum quadam quantitate gentis nostre ad presens ad partes ejusdem Principatus pro nostris serviciis destinemus et velimus quod teride quinque, quas per te pridem cum aliis teridis nostris instanter reparari et muniri mandavimus omnibus oportunis ut parate ad navigandum in terra in certo jam elapso termino haberentur, predicto Philippo pro transitu suo, familie ipsius et gentis ejusdem ac centum septuaginta naves equorum suorum debeant assignare, fidelitati tue precipimus quatenus incontinenti receptis presentibus, sicut nostram gratiam caram habes et iram nostram evitare desideras, predictas teridas quinque munitas ad navigandum omnibus et singulis opportunis, ita quod occasione alicujus defectus teridarum ipsarum seu municionis earum in transfretacione dicti Philippi, et gentis ejusdem mora aliqua contra beneplacitum nostrum intervenire non possit, eidem Philippo pro transitu suo, familie sue, gentis predicte ac predictorum equorum suorum, necnon vegetes necessarias pro reponenda aqua necessaria pro potu equorum ipsorum supra mare de vegetibus Curie, que sunt per manus tuas, debeas assignare, recepturus ab eodem Philippo de assignatione teridarum ipsarum et omnium que in ipsis teridis sibi assignaveritis ad tui cautelem ydoneam apodixam; et ecce quod Mauro Pironto et Nicolao Castaldo magistris portulanis et procuratoribus Apulie et Aprucii, fidelibus nostris damus licteris in mandatis ut predictam quantitatem equorum et ordeum necessarium pro annona ipsorum, ad rationem de tercia parte unius thumuli ordei pro quolibet ipsorum per noctem, necnon panem, vinum et alia victualia necessaria hominibus pro octo diebus tantum supra mare de portu Brundusio per predictos Philippum et eandem gentem nostram extrahi paciantur. Datum ut supra (aput Lacumpensulem die VIII augusti VIII indictionis). [B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 204. Reg. cit. ff. 92 t., 93. 1280, 11 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Mattheo Rufulo de Ravello. Pro emendo frumento pro parte Curie in Clarentiam. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 205. Reg. Ang. No. 37 (1279–1280 B) contd. f. 93 t.
1280, 9 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Herberto de Aureliano vicario (in Sicilia, *ed.*) etc. De extractione frumenti mictendi ad partes Barberie. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 206. Reg. cit. f. 93 t. et 94. 1280, 10 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Pro expensis iudicis Tadei

Scriptum est Philippo de Lagonessa regni Sicilie marescallo, balivo et vicario generali in partibus Achaye etc. mandavimus tibi pridem per licteras nostras, ut judici Tadeo de Florentia, consiliario et familiari, et judici Pisano de Amalfia, fidelibus nostris, quos ad partes Principatus Achaye pro nostris serviciis destinamus, certas expensas dum in ipsis serviciis moram trahent exhibere deberes de pecunia proventuum Principatus predicti, verum quia sicut intelleximus licteras ipsas recipere renuisti, asserens expensas ipsas solvere non posse judicibus supradictis, morantes inde non modicum, maxime cum credamus firmiter quod proventus predicti Principatus non ascendant ad satis longe majorem pecunie quantitatem, quam ad eam quam judicibus ipsis tribui per te volumus pro expensis eorum, fidelitati tue firmiter et expresse precipimus quatenus licteras ipsas et presentes etiam ab eisdem judicibus recipere debeas, omni occasione cessante, et licet in primis licteris ipsis contineatur pro predicto judici Tadeo, si ultra medietatem proximi futuri mensis septembris none indictionis in predictis partibus pro eisdem nostris serviciis contigerit comorari, expensas ad rationem de tarenis auri quatuor ponderis generalis per diem pro eo tempore quo ultra predictam primam medietatem dicti mensis septembris ibi morari contigerit, et predicto judici Pisano expensas pro equis tribus ad rationem de equis tredecim inter hominem et equum per diem juxta assisiam Regni, a quinto decimo die presentis mensis augusti hujus octave indictionis in antea quousque in eisdem serviciis nostris esset, de pecunia predictorum proventuum exhibere deberes, quia tanquam providimus quod dictus judex habere debeat pro expensis suis tarenos auri tres ponderis generalis per diem. Ita quod quilibet ipsorum judicum equum unum ad arma secum continue, quousque in partibus ipsis pro eisdem serviciis fuerint, debeant retinere ac ipsis duobus judicibus ad presens de Camera nostra satisfieri fecerimus de predictis expensis eis per excellentiam nostram provisis usque per totam primam medietatem mensis septembris ejusdem none indictionis, volumus et tibi districte precipimus quatenus predictis judici Tadeo et judici Pisano expensas superius designatas, videlicet dicto judici Tadeo ad rationem de tarenis auri quatuor et eidem judici Pisano ad rationem de tarenis auri tribus ponderis generalis per diem, a predicta ultima medietate dicti mensis septembris in antea deinde in partibus ipsis pro eisdem commissis sibi nostris serviciis contigerit commorari, de pecunia predictorum proventuum qui erunt per manus tuas absque defectu et difficultate qualibet largiaris, ut defectu expensarum ipsarum judices ipsi occasione sibi invenire nequeant a predictis nostris serviciis recedendi, recepturus de omnibus que dictis judicibus pro expensis ipsis exolveris ad tui cautelam ydoneam apodixam. Datum aput Lacumpensulem die X augusti (indictionis VIII). [B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 207. REG. ANG. No. 37 (1279–1280 B) contd. f. 94.
1280, 10 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Pro exhibendo vassello uno pro transitu ipsorum

Scriptum est Symoni de Bellovidere etc. Cum judicem Tadeum de Florencia et judicem Pisanum de Amalfia fideles nostros ad partes Achaye pro nostris serviciis destinemus, qui debent ducere equos septem: quatuor videlicet dictus judex Tadeus, inter quos sit unus ad arma, et predictus judex Pisanus tres, inter quos sit similiter unus ad arma, fidelitati tue firmiter et expresse precipimus quatenus invenias et conducas aliquam barcam de quacumque pecunia Curie nostre, que est vel erit per manus tuas, justo et moderato precio quod fines modestie non excedat, que sit conveniens ad transferendos equos ipsos et cum barca ipsa transferri facias dictos equos ad partes predictas ad requisicionem nostrorum fidelium predictorum, apodixam ydoneam de naulo ipsius barce quod provide solveris recepturus a patronis barce predicte. Datum aput Lacumpensulem die X augusti (indictionis VIII). [B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 208. REG. CIT. f. 94. 1280, 10 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Matteo Rufulo de Ravello: ut mictat mille ducentas salmas ordei . . . apud Acon . . . Rogerio de Sancto Severino in regno Jerosolimitano vicario. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 209. REG. CIT f. 94 t. 1280, 10 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Herberto de Aureliano. De extractione victualium. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 210. REG. CIT. f. 96. 1280, 12 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Mattheo Rufulo. De mictendo frumento ad partes Achaye. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 211. REG. CIT. f. 96 t. 1280, 12 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

To the same. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 212. REG. CIT. f. 98 t. 1280, 8 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Acceptatio quinquaginta pultrorum pro Philippo de Lagonessa, vicario Achaye. [Summary B. M.

Cf. *ante*, No. 196.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 213. REG. CIT. f. 100 t. 1280, 20 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Castellano castri Cephaludi quod desistat. [Summary B. M.

Cf. *post*, No. 253 for a further copy of this document. The name of the castellan is not known.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 214. Reg. Ang. No. 37 (1279–1280 B) contd. f. 104, 104 t.
1280, 26 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Capitaneo insule Curfoy. Pro Eustasio de Novilla (Valet de l'Hôtel, *ed.*).

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 215. Reg. Ang. No. 38 (1280 A), f. 12. 1280, 11 December, Ind. IX, Brindisi

Mattheo Rufulo etc. Pro rebus necessariis mictendis ad Tunisium et ad partes Barberie. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 301: ff. 1–26, 'Extravagantes infra Regnum', 6 septembre 1280 au 23 janvier 1281; Capasso, p. 51, settagosto, Ind. IX, 1280–81. Extravagantia.

No. 216. Reg. cit. f. 12 t. 1280, 11 December, Ind. IX, Brindisi

Vicario Sicilie. Pro mittendis quatuor milia salmis frumenti aput Tunisium. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 217. Reg. cit. f. 14. 1280, 16 December, Ind. IX, Brindisi

Simoni de Bellovidere (Vice Ammirato a flumine Tronti usque Cotronum, *ed.*). Pro deferendo frumento pro nostris serviciis de portu Manfridonie aput Clarentiam. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 218. Reg. cit. f. 15. 1280, 21 December, Ind. IX, Brindisi

Simoni de Bellovidere. Pro Philippo de Lagonessa balivo et vicario in principatu Achaye. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 219. Reg. cit. f. 17 t. 1280, 4 October, Ind. IX, Lucera dei Saraceni

Simoni de Bellovidere. Pro sex teridis mittendis aput Achayam pro serviciis Curie. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 220. Reg. cit. f. 27 t. 1280, 3 November, Ind. IX, Brindisi

Ursone Rufulo de Ravello. Pro vassellis mictendis ad eandam insulam (Corfoy, *ed.*). [Summary B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 301: ff. 27–28, 'Secretis Apulie', 12 octobre 1280 au 6 mars 1281; Capasso, p. 51, Secretis Apulie, Ind. IX, 1280–81, ottobre–marzo.

No. 221. Reg. cit. f. 30 t. 1281, 10 February, Ind. IX, Lucera

Portulano Brundusii. Pro camerario Principatus Achaye. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 301: ff. 29–97, 'Extravagantes infra regnum', 6 février au 1 septembre 1281; Capasso, p. 51.

No. 222. Reg. cit. f. 43. 1281, 9 February, Ind. IX, Lucera

Mattheo Rufulo de Ravello. Pro faciendis onerare in portubus Sicilie et emendis ibidem salmis frumenti mille et mictendis in Acon cum navibus Curie. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 223. REG. ANG. No. 38 (1280 A) contd. f. 44.
1281, 3 March, Ind. IX, Naples

Mattheo Rufulo de Ravello. Pro Curia de frumento onerando et mictendo aput Bugeam et partes alias Barbarie. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 224. REG. CIT. f. 46. 1281, 9 February, Ind. IX, Lucera

Vicario Sicilie. Pro frumento mictendo in Acon. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 225. REG. CIT. f. 53. 1281, 21 April, Ind. IX, Orvieto

De statutis super exigendo et percipiendo jure comerdi pro parte Curie in Clarentia. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 226. REG. CIT. f. 53 t. 1281, 25 April, Ind. IX, Orvieto

De assignandis rebus missis per Jordanum de Sancto Felice capitaneum Corfoy. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 227. REG. CIT. f. 56 t. 1281, 3 May, Ind. IX, Orvieto

Responsales—Jordano de Sancto Felice capitaneo et Judici Florio de Venusio magistro massario insule Corfoy. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 228. REG. CIT. f. 68 t. 1281, 17 May, Ind. IX, Orvieto

Mattheo Rufulo de Ravello. Pro victualibus missis in Tunisium et Barberiam. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 229. REG. CIT. f. 70. 1281, 27 May, Ind. IX, Orvieto

Vicario Sicilie. Pro eisdem rebus. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 230. REG. CIT. f. 71 t. 1281, 2 June, Ind. IX, Orvieto

Vicario Sicilie. Pro emendo frumento vendendo aput Tunisium. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 231. REG. CIT. f. 72. 1281, 2 June, Ind. IX, Orvieto

Vicario Sicilie. Pro emendo frumento. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 232. Reg. Ang. No. 38 (1280 A) contd. f. 81 t.
1281, 9 July, Ind. IX, Orvieto

Ludovico de Montibus capitaneo Regni a Faro Citra. Pro pecunia necessaria pro expensis nunciorum imperatoris (S)aragoras. [Summary B. M.

Cf. Minieri Riccio, *Il regno di Carlo I, 1273–1285*, *A.S.I.* 4ª serie, t. IV, p. 12 (6) for a summary of this document, but from a copy in Reg. No. 41 (1281 A) f. 137 t.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 233. Reg. cit. f. 82 t. 1281, 12 July, Ind. IX, Orvieto

Simoni de Narsamento (? Nausamento, *ed.*) castellano Trani. Pro recipiendis et custodiendis captivis magnatibus Paleologi inimici nostri. [Summary B. M.

Cf. Minieri Riccio, *op. cit.* p. 13 (5) for a summary, in which, however, the castellan appears as 'Simone de Nausariarique'.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 234. Reg. cit. f. 83.

Idem ut supra. [Summary B. M.

No. 235. Reg. cit. f. 84. 1281, 19 July, Ind. IX, Orvieto

Herberto de Aureliano (vicario Sicilie, *ed.*). Pro gente morante in comitiva vicarii regni Jerosolimitani. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 236. Reg. cit. f. 93 t. 1281, 15 August, Ind. IX, Orvieto

Ludovico de Montibus (capitaneo Regni a Faro Citra, *ed.*). Pro Leonardo cancellario Achaye mortuo. [Summary B. M.

Cf. Minieri Riccio, *op. cit.*, pp. 15–16 (1); and Minieri Riccio, *Nuovi Studi*, p. 3 for very full summaries of this order, which however omit the fact that the order to deliver the Chancellor's property to the envoys of his executors, the Cardinal Deacons, Geoffrey of S. George in Velabro and Benedict of S. Nicolas in Carcere, is addressed to Ludovico de Montibus.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 237. Reg. cit. ff. 93 t. et 94. 1281, 20 August, Ind. IX, Orvieto

Idem ut supra. [Summary, B. M.

No. 238. Reg. Ang. No. 39 (1280 B), f. 8. 1280, 3 June, Ind. VIII, Naples

De Lellis II, p. 952: Andree de Valsorana militi, provisio contra Mattheum (*sic*) Comitem Celani, et Mattheum de Podio militem destituentes eum quibusdam vassallis f. 8.

The Register read 'Rogerium Comitem Celani' in place of De Lellis' reading 'Mattheum Comitem Celani' and gave the date: Neapoli, III Junii (Indictionis VIII). [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 302: ff. 7–9, 'Citationes per vicemagistrum justiciarium et judices', 11 avril au 26 août, 1280; Capasso, p. 52.

No. 239. Reg. Ang. No. 39 (1280 B) contd. f. 24.

1280, 11 May, Ind. VIII, Naples

De Lellis II, p. 955: Jacobo de Sinacurt militi familiario Conciliario medietatis Castrorum Lamae, et Picti Superioris, quae fuerunt Montanarii de Palena proditoris resignatorum a Petro de Sonuilla milite sub seruitio duorum militum ad rationem unciarum 20 pro quolibet milite, datum Neapoli, praesentibus supradictis die 11 Madii 8 Indictione, anno 1280, f. 24 [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 302: ff. 23–27, 'Quaternus privilegiorum, donorum et concessionum', 18 mars au 21 août 1280; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 240. Reg. cit. f. 40. 1280 [25 April], Ind. VIII, Torre di S. Erasmo

Vicario Sicilie etc. pro nunciis euntibus ad ultramarinas partes et aput Acon. [Summary B. M.

Cf. Minieri Riccio, *Il Regno di Carlo I, 1273–1285, A.S.I.* 4ª serie, t. III, p. 15 (2) for a fuller summary dated 25 April, but without saying to whom the order was addressed.

Durrieu I, p. 302: ff. 29–127, 'Extravagantes infra regnum', 8 avril au 30 août, 1280; Capasso, p. 52, Ind. VIII (1279–1280) aprile-agosto, Registrum extravagantium de novo inceptum die XI aprile VIII indictionis apud Turrim Sancti Erasmi prope Capuam quo facta fuit nova ordinatio de regestris, ff. 29–127.

No. 241. Reg. cit. f. 45 t. 1280, 8 May, Ind. VIII, Naples

Castellano Lacuspensilis. Pro imperatore constantinopolitano. [Summary B. M.

Cf. Minieri Riccio, *op. cit.*, p. 15 (6) for a fuller summary of the order to Bertoldo Burdono, castellan of Lagopesole, but taken from the copy in Reg. Ang. No. 37 (1279–80 B) f. 58.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 242. Reg. cit. f. 65 t. 1280, 4 June, Ind. VIII, Naples

Sabino Venatori. Pro teridis pro imperatore constantinopolitano. [Summary B. M.

Cf. *ante*, No. 183 (Reg. Ang. No. 37, f. 68), where the address is given in a variant form 'Colino Venatore'.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 243. Reg. cit. f. 70 t. 1280, 11 June, Ind. VIII, Somma

Johanni de Lentino. Pro armandis galeis duabus et mictendis aput Tunisium pro tributo. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 244. Reg. cit. f. 87. 1280, 13 July, Ind. VIII, Melfi

Simoni de Bellovidere. Pro recipiendis quarrellis mictendis ad partes Achaye. [Summary B. M.

Cf. *ante*, No. 188 (Reg. Ang. No. 37 (1279–1280 B), f. 80), with the date 1280, 31 July, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole.

Cf. Minieri Riccio, *Il Regno di Carlo I, 1273–1285, A.S.I.* 4ª serie, t. III, p. 162 (9) for the order (recorded in Reg. Ang. No. 8, f. 73) to the Justiciar of the Terra di Lavoro to take the 'quarrelli' from Castel Capuano di Napoli and send them to Simone de Bellovidere, Vice Admiral, for shipment to Achaia.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 245. Reg. Ang. No. 39 (1280 B) contd. f. 99 t.
1280, 19 July, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Simoni de Bellovidere. Pro curia et reparandis teridis mittendis ad partes Clarentie. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 246. Reg. cit. f. 103. 1280, 2 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Universis comitibus etc. Pro marescallo principatus Achaye. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 247. Reg. cit. f. 104 t. 1280, 3 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Pro Curia de biscocto

Scriptum est Simoni de Bellovidere viceammirato etc. Cum per Maurum Pirontum et Franciscum Castaldum de Ravello, magistros portulanos et procuratores Apulie, de biscocto Curie, quod est per manus eorum, cantaria mille ad cantarum generale ad partes Achaye mandaverimus destinari, assignandum ibidem Gerardo de Marsilia, capitaneo decem galearum nostrarum in ipsis partibus commorancium, sicut eis nostris damus licteris in mandatis, proviso quod una de teridis Curie nostre per te solidatis et armatis ad hoc deputari debeat, et si terida ipsa totius predicte quantitatis capax non fuerit, illud quod inde restituerit inter alias teridas quinque cum Philippo de Gonissa regni Sicilie marescallo, in principatu Achaye balivo et vicario generali ad partes ipsarum transfretaturum honerari debeat et per eosdem magistros portulanos ad dictum capitaneum destinari, fidelitati tue precipimus quatenus, postquam tota predicti biscocti quantitas apud Brundusium delata fuerit pro honeranda in ea quantitate ipsa et ad partes predictas deferenda, unam de predictis teridis Curie nostre per te solidatam et armatam ad viagium supradictum debeas deputare. Et si forte tota quantitas ipsa in eadem terida honerari non poterit, quantitatem inde restantem inter alias predictas teridas cum dicto marescallo transfretaturas per eosdem magistros portulanos mandes et facias honerari, sic quod tota quantitas predictorum mille cantariorum biscocti tam cum predicta una terida quam cum aliis quinque teridis ad partes Achaye supradictas integre defferantur et, quia eisdem magistris portulanis per licteras nostras injungimus ut preter predicta mille cantaria biscocti alia trecenta cantaria de predicto biscocto Curie nostre, quod est per manus ipsorum, aput Brundusium mictere et tibi pro serviciis nostris ibidem assignare procurent, volumus et fidelitati tue precipimus quatenus ipsa trecenta cantaria ejusdem biscocti ab eis vel eorum nunciis in eadem terra Brundusii pro parte Curie nostre recipere et pro eisdem nostris serviciis conservare procures. Quibus de ipsorum trecentorum cantariorum biscocti receptione ad eorum cautelam ydoneam facias apodixam. Datum aput Lacumpensulem III augusti (VIII indictionis) [B. M.

Cf. *ante*, No. 193 for another copy: the present version is generally more correct, except for the erroneous 'Franciscum Castaldum' for 'Nicolaum Castaldum'.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 248. Reg. Ang. No. 39 (1280 B) contd. f. 106 t.

Pro Curia 1280, 8 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Scriptum est Pascali de Guarino prothontino Brundusii etc. Scire volumus fidelitatem tuam quod mictimus tibi per Philippum de Lagonessa, regni Sicilie marescallum, ballivum et vicarium generalem in principatu Achaye, dilectum militem, consiliarium, familiarem et fidelem nostrum pro solidis, companagio et aliis consuetis necessariis omnium personarum navigantium in duabus galeis et uno galione deputatis ad custodiam maritime Apulie et Aprucii, quibus de mandato celsitudinis nostre prees, uncias auri ducentas quadraginta unam et tarenos decem et octo, quas eidem Philippo de Camera nostra penes nos statuta fecimus assignari, exhibendas tibi et per te distribuendas personis ipsis pro solidis, companagio et aliis consuetis necessariis predictarum galearum et ejusdem galionis usque per totum mensem octubris primo venturo none indictionis. In qua quidem quantitate pecunie communerati sunt et comprehensi solidis persone tue pro eodem tempore ad rationem de unciis auri una et tarenis viginti quatuor pro persona tua sicut consuetum est per mensem, quos solidos tibi pro predicto tempore de eadem pecunia debeas retinere; propter quod tue fidelitati mandamus expresse quatenus, recepta predicta quantitate pecunie a marescallo prefato, ipsa non simul et semel personis ipsis distribuas sed de mense in mensem sicut fuerit oportunum dum in serviciis nostris te cum predictis vassellis contigerit commorari. Volumus etiam et mandamus tibi firmiter et districte ut statim quod applicueris cum predicto marescallo ad partes principatus Achaye juxta mandatum et requisitionem ipsius conferas te cum ipsis galeis et galione ad Girardum de Marsilia, capitaneum illarum decem galearum in partibus Romanie cum ipsis decem galeis de mandato nostri culminis commorantem, et cum eodem Girardo morari debeas in partibus illis pro serviciis nostris sibi commissis et eidem, tamquam capitaneo omnium galearum ipsarum et ejusdem galionis ad honorem et fidelitatem nostram super predictis serviciis nostris quousque in partibus ipsis morabitur, pareas et intendas; et si forte usque ad festum Beati Andree cum predicto Girardo in partibus illis pro eisdem serviciis nostris cum predictis duabus galeis et eodem galione contigerit te morari, in reditu tuo quem cum predicto Girardo feceris apud Brundusium computabis cum Curia nostra, et si quid pro galeis et galione predictis pro tempore quo in serviciis nostris moratus fueris, suplendum tibi fuerit ultra ad totum quod inventus fueris pro parte nostre Curie recepisse tibi mandabimus exhiberi. Datum apud Lacumpensilem VIII augusti (VIII indictionis). [B. M.

Cf. *ante*, No. 200 for another copy with slight variants.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 249. Reg. cit. f. 107 t. 1280, 8 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Pro Curia

Scriptum est Philippo de Lagonessa regni Scicilie marescallo, ballivo et vicario generali in Principatu Achaye dilecto militi, consiliario, familiari et fideli suo etc. Quia ultra numerum stipendiariorum nostrorum, qui de mandato celsitudinis nostre in partibus principatus Achaye pro nostris serviciis commorantur, milites quatuor et scutiferos equites decem ultramontanos tecum in partibus illis in comitiva tua te volumus retinere, fidelitati tue precipimus quatenus ipsos milites quatuor et scutiferos equites decem in

partibus ipsis tecum in comitiva tua pro serviciis nostris ad gagia Curie nostre debeas retinere, quibus militibus et scutiferis tanquam de novo receptis fieri facias dimidium mutuum pro primis tribus mensibus numerandis ab ultima medietate mensis septembris et usque per totam primam medietatem sequentis mensis decembris proxime future none indictionis, ad rationem videlicet de unciis auri duabus pro quolibet ipsorum militum et de uncia auri una pro quolibet ipsorum scutiferorum pro dimidio mutuo per mensem, et completis ipsis tribus mensibus, de inde fieri facias eisdem militibus et scutiferis mutuum integrum sicut fiet aliis stipendiariis de mandato nostro morantibus in partibus supradictis. Ita tamen quod quilibet ipsorum militum de persona sua sit decenter armatus et habeat equos quatuor, inter quos sit equus unus ad armam, et retineat secum continue armigerum unum nobilem decenter armatum et garziones duos habentes cervellerias, spallerias cum gorgeria ferrea, enses et cultellos ad punctam, et quilibet ipsorum scutiferorum sit similiter de persona sua decenter armatus et habeat equos duos, inter quos sit unus ad armam, et garzionum unum predicto modo armatum; preterea quia predictis stipendiariis in eisdem partibus de mandato nostro morantibus, videlicet militibus sexdecim, stipendiariis equitibus centum sexaginta, balistariis equitibus viginti duobus et balistariis peditibus octaginta duobus, mutuum per te fieri volumus pro tribus mensibus numerandis a prima die proximi preteriti mensis junii et usque per totum presentem mensem augusti presentis VIII indictionis de unciis auri mille trecentis octoginta duabus et tarenis duodecim, quas de Camera nostra penes nos statuta tibi fecimus assignare, fidelitati tue mandamus quatenus militibus ipsis ad rationem de unciis auri quatuor pro quolibet eorum stipendiariis equitibus, ad rationem de unciis auri duobus pro quolibet ipsorum balistariis equitibus, similiter et balistariis pedidibus (*sic*) ad rationem de tarenis auri duodecim pro quolibet ipsorum per mensem mutuum ipsum pro predictis tribus mensibus facere debeas de predicta pecunia tibi de nostra Camera propterea specialiter assignata; et si aliqui de predictis quatuor militibus retinendi de novo fuerint de stipendiariis veteribus Curie nostre ipsis mutuatoribus (?) aliis stipendiariis veteribus fieri facias super recipienda ab eis mostra qualibet trimestris tempore et de ducendis defectibus si quos habuerit formam observes que in recipienda mostra stipendiariorum morantium in Curia nostra et deducendis defectibus ipsorum in eadem nostra Curia observatis. Datum apud Lacumpensilem VIII augusti (indictionis VIII). [B. M.

Cf. *ante*, No. 201 for another copy of this document.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 250. REG. ANG. NO. 39 (1280 B) contd. f. 107 t.

1280, 8 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Philippo de Lagonessa ballivo Achaye. (This second document is noted without further specification; it may be that given *ante*, No. 198: Pro expensis ipsius Philippi, *ed.*) [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 251. REG. CIT. ff. 109 t. ET 110. 1280, 9 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Mattheo Rufulo de Ravello. Pro frumento quod venditur in Tunisio, Bugea et in partibus Barberie. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 252. Reg. Ang. No. 39 (1280 B) contd. f. 110.

1280, 10 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Mattheo Rufulo. Pro salmis frumenti mictendis in Acon pro serviciis regiis.

[Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 253. Reg. cit. f. 117 t. 1280, 20 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Goffrido Poliano (*corr.* de Policeno, Poilechien, *ed.*), provisori castrorum Sicilie. Pro castellano castri Chephaludi. [Summary B. M.

Cf. *ante*, No. 213, for another copy of this letter; 'Goffridus de Policeno' (see E. Sthamer, *Die Verwaltung der Kastelle, passim*), was appointed 'provisor' in June 1279, and died in office before 3 April, 1281. This order concerned the substitution of a new castellan of Cefalù, Petrus de Syneto, who was in office 3 April, 1281, for the superseded castellan, name unknown.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 254. Reg. cit. f. 139. 1282, 30 October, Ind. XI, Reggio

Portulano Apulie. Pro [destin]ando biscotto ad partes Achaye.

[Summary B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 302: ff. 130–151 (Extravagantes infra regnum), 1er septembre au 26 décembre 1282; Capasso, p. 52.

No. 255. Reg. cit. f. 146 t. 1282, 7 December, Ind. XI, Reggio

Regi Aragone. Pro nunciis euntibus ad eidem regi.

Cf. Minieri Riccio, *Il Regno di Carlo I, 1273–1285*, *A.S.I.* 4ª serie, t. IV, p. 358 (5), but with the date of 6 December.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 256. Reg. cit. f. 151. 1282, 21 December, Ind. XI, Reggio

Signorello de Griso de Neapoli. De complendis teridis domini imperatoris constantinopolitani (Philippi, *ed.*).

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 257. Reg. cit. f. 173 t. 1282, 30 December, Ind. XI, Reggio

Scriptum est Justitiario Basilicate. *The king notifies that he is granting* Oddoni de Tussiaco consanguineo, familiari et fideli nostro et heredibus suis ex ipsius corpore legitime descendentibus Terram Muri, Castrum Albani et Casale Asprum, *which have escheated to the Curia, on condition that* si dictus Oddo qui jus in comitatu Celani habere se asserit pro parte Philippe comitisse Albe filie quondam Rogerii olim comitis Celani uxoris sue ipsum comitatum Celani acquirere contigerit, *then the lands of this new grant are to revert to the* Curia. *Otherwise they are to be held by Oddo and his heirs* immediate et in capite de servitio decem militum computato ad rationem de unciis viginti pro servicio unius militis . . . et quod de demanio et baronia predicte terre, castri et casalis dictus Oddo tantum habeat terram, castrum et casale predictas et nichil aliud . . . et quod non respondeatur sibi a baronibus etc., et si aliqui barones et pheudatarii sunt in predicta

terra, castro et casale, qui servire in capite nostre Curie teneantur, in nostro demanio et dominio reserventur . . . Datum Regii [penultimo] decembris, XI Indictionis.
[E. M. J.

Cit. *I Conti*, p. 149, n. 4.

De Lellis II, p. 980, had a summary of this scriptum.

Cf. *post*, No. 295, for a further copy from Reg. Ang. No. 46 (1283 E) f. 42 t. with the day of the month; and summary from De Lellis II, p. 1164.

Durrieu I, p. 302: ff. 166–173, 'Secreto, magistro portulano et procuratori, ac magistro totius salis Apulie'—16 septembre au 30 décembre, 1282; Capasso, p. 52, Ind. XI (1282–1283) sett.-dicem. Secreto magistro portulano et procuratori ac magistro totius salis Apulie, ff. 166–173. Neither Durrieu nor Capasso notes any document on f. 173 t. to the Justiciar of the Basilicata.

No. 258. Reg. Ang. No. 39 (1280 B) contd. f. 212 t.
1282, 4 March, Ind. XI, Naples

Custodibus foreste Quarti. Pro reparandis teridis Philippi imperatoris Constantinopolitani. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 303: ff. 186–239, 'Extravagantes infra regnum', 1er septembre 1281 au 3 août 1282; Capasso, p. 52.

No. 259. Reg. ang. No. 40 (1280 C), f. 39 t. 1281, 11 May, Ind. IX, Orvieto

Hugoni dicto Pultrano, justiciario Sicilie (ultra flumen Salsum, *ed.*). Pro danda pecunia pro emptione victualium aput Tunisium, Bugeam et partes alias Barbarie pro nostris serviciis destinanda. [Summary B. M.

Note: Durrieu II, p. 213 gives as the term of his office: 27 dec. 1278 au 8 février 1281.

Durrieu I, p. 304: ff. 32–39, 'Justiciario Sicilie citra (*sic*, *ed.*) flumen Salsum', 2 septembre 1280 au 23 mai 1281; Capasso, p. 54.

No. 260. Reg. cit. f. 92. 1281, 21 August, Ind. IX, Orvieto

Responsales

Scriptum est Capitaneo in Regno (Ludovico de Montibus, *ed.*) etc. Benigne recepimus licteras nuper culmini nostro missas, per quas nostre excellentie intimasti te exhiberi et assignari fecisse per Cordellerium, prepositum equorum marescalle nostre Capue existentium in Subuutum (?), nunciis imperatoris Sagaras, quos ad presentiam nostram venire jussimus, equos minoris valoris sex per eundem Cordellerium assignatos sine frenis et sellis, et tu emi fecisti ad opus ipsorum equorum de pecunia a thesaurariis nostris camere castri Salvatoris ad Mare recepta sellas quinque, frena sex et bardam unam pro tarenis auri viginti duobus et exhiberi fecisti ejusdem nunciis pro expensis eorum de predicta pecunia Camere nostre, per manus ipsorum thesaurariorum provenienda apud Urbem Veterem ad Curiam nostram, uncias auri duas ponderis generalis associato eis uno scuterio de familia tua equite, qui eos usque ad presentiam nostram conduceret, pro eo quod inscii sunt viarum, super quibus omnibus significatis ad tui cautelam presentes tibi mittimus responsales, quos predictos equos cum sellis, frenis et barda predictis, postquam dicti nuncii ad nostram presentiam accesserunt, assignari fecimus Symoni de

Bellovidere militi malescalle (*sic*) nostre magistro per eum de cetero cum aliis equis nostris retinendos et pro usu nostri hospicii conservandos. Datum aput Urbem Veterem XXI augusti (IX indictionis). [B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 304: ff. 91–96, 'Extravagantes infra regnum', 6 au 26 août, 1281; Capasso, p. 54: Ind. IX (1280–1281) sett.-dicem. Extravagantes infra et extra regnum, ff. 65–96.

No. 261. Reg. Ang. No. 40 (1280 C) contd. f. 92 t.

1281, 20 August, Ind. IX, Orvieto

Protontino Brundusii. Pro bonis quondam Leonardi cancellarii Achaye.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 262. Reg. cit. f. 92 t. 1281, 22 August, Ind. IX, Orvieto

Idem.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 263. Reg. Ang. No. 41 (1281 A), f. 14.

1280, 16 August, Ind. VIII, Lagopesole

Pro custodienda Maritima

Scriptum est eidem vicario (Sicilie, Herberto de Aureliano, *ed.*) etc. Quia nuper nostra Excellentia intellexit quod quedam vassella onerata gente que vadit in auxilium Paleologi, puplici inimici nostri, venerunt usque insulam Sardinie et per partes insule Sicilie transitum habere deberent, fidelitati tue sub obtentu gratie nostre firmiter et expresse precipimus quatenus portus, plagia et loca omnia maritime predicte insule Sicilie sic diligenter et sollicite facias custodiri die noctuque quod, si vassella ipsa per partes predictas contingerit habere transitum, modis omnibus arrestentur et postquam vassella ipsa fuerint arrestata sic portus et loca ipsa diligentiori cura custodiri facias, quod vassellum aliquod cum gente ipsa abinde sine nostra licentia non recedat et incontinenti quod vassella ipsa arrestata fuerint numerum ipsorum vassellorum et gentis cum eis ad partes ipsas applicantis et totum processum arrestationis ipsorum vassellorum tuis licteris celsitudini nostre significare procures, que omnia caute et sapienter facias, non quasi de mandato nostro processisse videantur, sed ex sollicitudine et studio tuo ad idem faciens de vassellis aliis si scire poteris quod aliqua alia vassella de aliis partibus ad eandem insulam Sicilie cum gente inimicorum nostrorum applicare debebunt, ut ea modis omnibus facias arrestari et licet presentes lictere clause sicut in tribus tamen registris (Curie) nostre eas fecimus annotari. Datum apud Lacumpensulem XVI augusti octave indictionis.

Similes facte sunt magistris procuratoribus [et] castellanis insularum Malte et Gaudisii.

Datum ut supra. [B. M.

Extract and summary in Minieri Riccio, *Il regno di Carlo I, 1273–1285*, *A.S.I.*, 4ª serie, t. III, p. 165 (5).

Durrieu I, p. 305: ff. 9–29, 'Vicario Sicilie', 6 septembre 1280 au 10 juin 1281; Capasso, p. 55, Ind. IX (1280–1281) sett.-agosto, Vicario Sicilie, ff. 9–29. Capasso also notes on p. 54: 'Oltre le indicazioni sottonotate, ai ff. 1ª, 9ᵇ, 30ᵇ, 31 sono trascritti sette documenti di agosto, VIII ind. (1280),' and to these f. 14 must apparently be added, with the present document.

No. 264. Reg. Ang. No. 41 (1281 A) contd. f. 21 t.
1281, 3 March, Ind. IX, Naples

Vicario Sicilie. Pro Curia de extraendo frumento et mictendo aput Acon.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 265. Reg. cit. f. 91. 1280–1281, Ind. IX

De Lellis II, p. 1032: Oddo de Tucziaco Consanguineus familiaris dominus Comitatus Albae, fol. 91. [E. M. J.

Note: A repetition of the same document: De Lellis II, p. 725 from Reg. Ang. No. 31–32 (1278 D) f. 231 t. is published among 'I fogli perduti dei Registri esistenti', *Atti Perduti*, I, ii, p. 164, No. 1235.

Durrieu I, p. 305: ff. 30–142, 'Extravagantes infra regnum', 2 septembre 1280 au 28 juillet 1281; Capasso, p. 55.

No. 266. Reg. cit. f. 107 t. 1281, before 3 April, Ind. IX

De Lellis II: Justiciario Aprucii mandatum quod submoneat Barones et pheudatarios iurisdictionis sue ad prestandum servicium nobiscum apud Urbem Veterem et barones (latini) sunt videlicet: *among them is* Petrus de Luparia. [B. M.

C. Minieri Riccio, *Nuovi studi*, p. 18 publishes a full extract from this register f. 107 (not 107 t. as De Lellis quotes) of a similar order addressed 'Justitiario Aprutii' with the names of all the feudatories; but 'Petrus de Luparia' is not among them, correctly as it would seem, because Lupara is in Molise under the justiciar of Terra di Lavoro and not under the justiciar of Aprutium. Consequently the address of the present document would appear to be erroneous.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.* Since Charles I arrived at Orvieto on 3 April, 1281, this mandate was presumably issued before this date, *ed.*

No. 267. Reg. Ang. No. 42 (1281 B) f. 91. 1281, 16 June, Ind. IX, Orvieto

Justiciario Terre Bari. Pro sicla Clarentie; (loquitur etiam Guillelmi olim principis principatus Achaye). [Summary B. M.

Cf. Minieri Riccio, *Il regno di Carlo I, 1273–1285, A.S.I.*, 4ª serie, t. IV, p. 11 (5) for a fuller summary, but taken from another copy in Reg. Ang. No. 38 (1280 A) f. 103; cit. G. M. Monti, *Nuovi studi angioini, XXVII, Ricerche sul Dominio angioino in Grecia*, I. La Zecca di Clarenza sotto Carlo I, p. 600 n. 1.

Durrieu I, p. 305: ff. 77–95, 'Just. Terre Bari', 8 septembre 1280 au 26 août 1281; Capasso, p. 55.

No. 268. Reg. cit. f. 102. 1280, 16 December, Ind. IX, Brindisi

Justiciario Terre Ydronti. Pro quantitate frumenti deputanda aput Clarentiam. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 305: ff. 96–111, 'Just. Terre Ydrontis', 31 août 1280 au 8 août 1281; Capasso, p. 55.

No. 269. Reg. cit. f. 103. 1281, 4 January, Ind. IX, Brindisi

Justiciario Terre Ydronti, ut supra. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 270. Reg. Ang. No. 42 (1281 B) contd. f. 107 t.

1281, 15 April, Ind. IX, Orvieto

Justiciario Terre Idronti. Pro Curia et servientibus Corfoy.

[Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 271. Reg. cit. f. 109. 1281, 16 June, Ind. IX, Orvieto

Justiciario Terre Ydronti. Pro sicla Clarentie.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 272. Reg. Ang. No. 43 (1282 A) f. 101. 1282, ? March, Ind. X, ? Naples

De Lellis II: A domino Anneo de Matricio Cabelloto Cabellarum Curie in Suessa. [B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 306: ff. 100–198—Comptes en Latin des mêmes trésoriers [du Château de l'Œuf] pour les mois de mars, avril et mai, 1282; Capasso, p. 56, Ind. X [1281–1282] marzo-maggio, Ratio officii thesaurariorum—Introitus (f. 100–111). Exitus (f. 112–198), ff. 100–198.

No. 273. Reg. Ang. No. 44 (1282 B) f. 22.

1281, 22 September, Ind. X, Orvieto

Philippo de Gonessa balio principatus Achaye. Pro custodia castri Clarentie et necessariis pro passagio domini regis. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 307: f. 22, 'Extravagantes extra regnum', 12 au 15 septembre, 1281. (In the light of this document, this limit of date should be rather 25 September, *ed.*; Capasso, p. 57, ff. 22–23, Extravagantes extra regnum, sett.-maggio, Ind. X.

No. 274. Reg. cit. f. 77 t. 1282, 6 May, Ind. X, Naples

Justiciario Terre Bari. Pro faciendo frumento et biscotto quod mictere sibi debet justiciario Capitinate. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 307: f. 77, 'Just. Terre Bari', 5 au 28 avril 1282. (In the light of this document, this limit of date should be up to 6 May); Capasso, p. 57, ff. 75–85, and 95–98 'Just. Terre Bari'.

No. 275. Reg. cit. f. 77 t. 1282, 29 April, Ind. X, Naples

Justiciario Terre Bari. Pro mictendis quarrellis in castris subscriptis jurisdicionis sue. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*, and the same note as to the limit of date; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 276. Reg. cit. f. 83. 1282, 24 February, Ind. X, Naples

Justiciario Terre Bari. Pro emendo sepo et aliis rebus pro passagio Romanie. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 307: ff. 78–85, 'Just. Terre Bari,' 12 septembre 1281 au 31 mars 1282; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 277. Reg. cit. f. 86. 1281, 8 September, Ind. X, Orvieto

Justiciario Terre Ydronti. Pro obereriis et moneteriis pro opere sicle Clarentie. [Summary B. M.

Cit. G. M. Monti, *Nuovi Studi angioini*, p. 600, n. 2.

Durrieu I, p. 307: ff. 86–93, 'Just. Terre Ydronti', 8 septembre 1281 au 22 avril 1282; Capasso, p. 57, 'Just. Terre Ydronti', ff. 86–94.

No. 278. Reg. Ang. No. 44 (1282 B) contd. f. 86.
1281, 8 September, Ind. X, Orvieto

Justiciario Terre Ydronti. Pro complemento duarum teridarum quarum una pro cancellario Achaye. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 279. Reg. cit. f. 87 t. 1281, 2 October, Ind. X. Orvieto

Justiciario Terre Ydronti. Pro fieri facienda terida Philippi de Gonessa balii Achaye. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 280. Reg. cit. f. 90. 1282, 13 February, Ind. X, Naples

Justiciario Terre Ydronti. Pro capiendis vulturibus in insula Curphoy. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 281. Reg. cit. f. 93 t. 1282, 20 April, Ind. X, Naples

Justiciario Terre Ydronti. Pro preparatione teridarum aptarum ad navigandum. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 282. Reg. cit. f. 93 t. 1282, 25 April, Ind. X, Naples

Justiciario Terre Ydronti. Arma, galiones, naves etiam mictenda aput Durachium. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 283. Reg. cit. f. 93 t. 1282, 22 April, Ind. X, Naples

Justiciario Terre Ydronti. Pro danda pecunia magistro massario in Terra Ydronti pro recolligendis victualibus et emendis. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 284. Reg. cit. f. 94. 1282, 3 June, Ind. X, Naples

Justiciario Terre Ydronti. Responsales super constructione turris que dicitur Lucaballus. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 23: f. 94, 'Just. Terre Ydronti', 3 au 10 juin 1282; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 285. Reg. cit. f. 94. 1282, 5 June, Ind. X, Naples

Justiciario Terre Ydronti. Pro munitionibus Castri Novi Neapolis. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 286. Reg. cit. f. 94. 1282, 4 June, Ind. X, Naples

Justiciario Terre Ydronti. Pro mictendis piconibus et zappis apud Cathonam. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 287. REG. ANG. No. 44 (1282 B) contd. f. 94 t.

1282, 10 June, Ind. X, Naples

Justiciario Terre Ydronti. Pro victualibus. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 288. REG. CIT. f. 94 t. 1282, 10 June, Ind. X, Naples

Justiciario Terre Ydronti. Pro conducendis animalibus pro artilleria. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 289. REG. CIT. f. 99 t. 1282, 25 August, Ind. X, Messina

Justiciario Terre Ydronti. Pro mictendis quibusdam licteris capitanei Curphoy. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 307: ff. 99–100, 'Just. Terre Ydronti', 26 avril au 30 août 1282; Capasso, p. 57, ff. 99–100 Just. Terre Ydronti, Ind. X, (1281–1282) settembre-giugno (this last month appears to be an error, *ed.*).

No. 290. REG. CIT. f. 100. 1282, 9 May, Ind. X, Naples

Pro mictendis licteris capitaneo galearum Venetorum.

Scriptum est eidem (Philippo de Hervilla justiciario Terre Hydronti). Quia lator presencium tibi quasdam licteras clausas defert, sigillo nostre celsitudinis sigillatas, quas Jacobo Teupulo capitaneo quarundam galearum armatarum per comunem Venetiarum pro quibusdam Curie nostre negociis destinamus, fidelitati tue firmiter et districte precipimus quatenus, statim quod lictere ipse ad te pervenerint, conducas vassellum unum sub justo, moderato et competente naulo de quacumque fiscali pecunia que est vel erit per manus tuas et per aliquem nuncium tuum licteras ipsas eidem Jacobo facias destinari; ita quod citius quam credamus ad eum perveniant lictere supradicte. Recepturus de hiis que pro naulo ipsius vasselli solveris ydoneam apodixam. Datum Neapoli VIIII Madii (X Indict.). [A. W. J.

Cf. for the relations of Charles I with Venice in this and the neighbouring years, N. Nicolini, 'Sui rapporti diplomatici veneto-napoletani durante i Regni di Carlo I e Carlo II d'Angiò,' *A.S.P.N.*, t. LX, 1935, pp. 263–268, but without reference to the present letter.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 291. REG. CIT. f. 100. 1282, 6 June, Ind. X, Naples

Justiciario Terre Ydronti. Pro equis onerandis teridis. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu, *ibid.*; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 292. REG. CIT. f. 101. 1281, 27 November, Ind. X, Orvieto

Justiciario Terre Ydronti. De non molestando procuratore Joannis (? Jordani, *ed.*) de Sancto Felice pro receptione teride. [Summary B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 307: ff. 101–106, 'Just. Vallis Gratis et Terre Jordani', novembre 1281 au août 1282, and not as in this summary 'Just. Terre Ydronti'; Capasso, p. 57 also attributes ff. 101–106 to the Just. Vallis Gratis et Terre Jordani.

No. 293. Reg. Ang. No. 44 (1282 B) contd. ff. 110–116 *passim.*
1281, September to December, and 1282 January to March, Ind. X

(Justiciario Sicilie citra flumen Salsum, *ed.*) Concerning preparations for war; making ready ships and munitions; sending ships to Sicily, victuals etc.
[Summary B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 307: ff. 110–116, 'Justiciario Sicilie citra flumen Salsum', 7 septembre 1281 au 19 mars 1282; Capasso, *ibid.*

No. 294. Reg. Ang. No. 45 (1283 A) f. 75. 1283, ? December, Ind. XII

De Lellis I: Rainaldo filio domini Gentilis de Sangro assensus super matrimonio cum Constantia filia domini Stephani de Anglono cum feudalibus annui valoris unciarum 10. [B. M.

Cf. *post*, No. 303, Reg. Ang. No. 49 (1284 C) f. 288.

Durrieu I, p. 309: ff. 70–75, Charles, prince de Salerne, 'Extravagantes infra regnum', 20 novembre au 5 décembre 1283; Capasso, p. 58, does not distinguish the various dates of the ff. 56–149 etc. containing the 'Extravagantes infra regnum'.

No. 295. Reg. Ang. No. 46 (1283 E) f. 42 t.
1282, 30 December, Ind. XI, Reggio

Varia—*Under this heading in the register there is a copy of the* Scriptum Justitiario Basilicate, datum Regii, penultimo Decembris, Ind. XI, *already entered in* Reg. Ang. No. 39 (1280 B), f. 173 t°; see *ante*, No. 257. [E. M. J.

De Lellis II, p. 1164: *repeats the summary given on p. 980.* [E. M. J.

Durrieu, p. 311: f. 42, 'Secreto Basilicate', 22 au 30 décembre, 1282; Capasso, f. 59, gives 'Secreto . . . Apulie'.

No. 296. Reg. cit. f. 60. 1284, 21 April, Ind. XII, Nicotera

Scriptum est Petro de Andrea et Judici Thomasio de Sulmona olim procuratoribus comitatus Celani etc., Cum beneplacito nostri sit ut comitatus Celani et alie terre, quas vir nobilis quondam Rogerius comes Celani usque ad obitum ejus tenuit, baliatus nomine pro parte Thomaselli pupilli, filii et heredis comitis supradicti, Angelo de Vico secreto, magistro portulano et procuratore Principatus, Terre Laboris et Aprutii, vobis videlicet amotis, teneantur et procurentur, devotioni vestri precipiendo mandamus quatenus vos de procuracione comitatus et terrarum ipsarum commissa vobis per Pontium de Blancaforte olim Justiciarium Aprutii, non intromittentes de cetero, medietatem fructuum et reddituum omnium eorundem quos pene vos habeatis et habere debetis, nobili mulieri domine Marie Comitisse Celani et eidem Thomasello ejus filio exhibere curatis, et medietatem reliquam in castro Salvatoris ad Mare de Neapoli faciatis pro parte curie juxta provisionem regiam in[continenti] assignari et nichilominus de procuracione gesta per vos coram auditoribus Curie Neapoli commorantibus finaliter . . . et debitam rationem ac restitutionem nobis et magistris rationalibus Magne [Curie] Regis Caroli quantitatis quam in predicto Castro pro se et dictis comitisse et filio duxeritis assignandam. Datum Nicotere, XXI° Aprilis, XII^e^ Indictionis. [E. M. J.

De Lellis II, p. 1169: Extravagantes infra Regnum. Nobili Dominae Comitisse Celani Mariae, et Thomaselli eius filio provisio pro exhibitione proventuum dicti Comitatus Celani quod procuratur per Curiam a tempore mortis Nobilis Rogerii Comitis Celani patris dicti Thomaselli, f. 60. [E. M. J.

Cit. *I Conti*, p. 149 and n. 6.

Durrieu I, p. 311: ff. 60–67, Charles, prince de Salerne,' Extravagantes infra regnum', 16 avril au 14 mai, 1283; Capasso, p. 59, gives less precise indications: Ind. XI (1282–1283) sett.-agosto, Extravagantes infra regnum, ff. 53–113. This document is dated Ind. XII, and there are documents of this indiction in the register, ff. 215–217 Ratio-exitus (in French) and XII–XIII (1283–1285) agosto-dic. Secreto Aprutii, f. 2.

No. 297. Reg. Ang. No. 48 (1284 B) f. 68 t.

1283, 26 October, Ind. XII, Neocastro

[Scriptum] est procuratoribus Comitatus Celani etc. Cum medietas proventuum comitatus predicti, quam dominus pater noster per curiam suam percipi et haberi [mandave]rat pro servicio de comitatu ipso curie debito, reparacione, cultura et necessaria procuratione domorum, vinearum, jardinorum, molendinorum, . . . [aliorum]que possessionum comitatus ejusdem, concessa dicatur per nostras licteras speciales nobili viro domino Odoni de Tucciaco dilecto nostro sub condicionibus supradictis, ne idem dominus Oddo de ipsis proventibus valeat circumscribi, placet nobis et volumus quod unum pro parte ipsius domini Odonis, quem [prece]perit eligendum, vobiscum in procurationem comitatus predicti usque ad regium et nostrum beneplacitum admittatis, procedentes ad omnia que procuracionem ipsam contingunt in presentia et cum plena conscientia et noticia sua, ita quod nichil inde ipsum lateat, quoquomodo mandato nostro de dicta medietate proventuum per ipsum dominum Odonem pro parte curie percipienda in suis finibus tenaciter observato. Datum Neocastri per Sparanum de Baro militem, die XXVI[e] octubris, XII[e] Indictionis. [E. M. J.

De Lellis II, p. 1237: Nobili domino Oddoni de Tucciaco cui concessionis medietatem Comitatus Celani provisio, f. 68 t°. [E. M. J.

Cit. *I Conti*, p. 149 and n. 6.

Durrieu I, p. 314: ff. 68–75, Charles, prince de Salerne, 'Extravagantes infra regnum', 24 octobre au 22 novembre, 1283; Capasso, p. 62, with less precise indications.

No. 298. Reg. cit. f. 178 t. 1284, 22 May, Ind. XII, Naples

Scriptum est Guillelmo de Leporanica et Nicolao de Pentima procuratoribus comitatus Celani. *Whereas Oddo de Tucciaco has complained that the procurators have refused to pay over the half of the revenues of the county granted him, saying that they need them to meet the service due and to maintain the* domos, castra et alias possessiones et massarias predicti comitatus, *the procurators are ordered nevertheless to pay over to Oddo* dictam medietatem proventuum sine defectu quolibet, ita tamen quod ex ea servicium et si qua alia fieri voluerit regia celsitudo, fiant et servierint juxta regalium [que] super hec emanarunt continenciam licterarum. Datum Neapoli, die XXII Madii, XII[e] Indictionis.

De Lellis II, p. 1261: Nobili Domino Oddoni de Tucciaco Consiliario familiari exequtorie concessionis fructuum medietatis Comitatus Celani, f. 178 t°. [E. M. J.

Cit. *I Conti*, p. 149 and n. 6.

Durrieu I, p. 314, Charles, prince de Salerne, 'Extravagantes infra regnum', ff. 147–186, 4 au 29 mai, 1284; Capasso, p. 62, with less precise indications.

No. 299. Reg. Ang. No. 49 (1284 C) f. 5 t. 1283, 4 December, Ind. XII, Naples

Pro domino Theobaldo de Bellovidere de subvencione.

Scriptum est eidem (Justiciario Terre Laboris et Comitatus Molisii) etc. Supplicaverunt nobis dominus Theobaldus de Bellovidere miles et familiaris et Hugo de Molisio devoti nostri quod cum in anno decime Indicionis proxime preterite in exercitu Regio in obsidione Messane et sequenti anno undecime Indiccionis in exercitu nostro in Nicotera armis et equis decenter muniti prestiterunt Curie servicium consuetum et debitum quod idem dominus Theobaldus pro castro Supini et idem Hugo pro castro Campi Bassi que in jurisdicione vestra a Curia tenere se dicunt prestare tenentur et debent subvencionem congruentem fieri eis propterea ab hominibus predictorum castrorum juxta constitucionem Regni benignius manderemus quorum supplicacionibus inclinati devocionis vestre precipimus quatenus eidem domino Theobaldo ab hominibus dicti castri Supini et eidem Hugoni ab hominibus predicti Castri Campi Bassi vassallis eorum si castra ipsa tenent ut dicunt subvencionem fieri congruentem juxta constitucionem Regni et facultates eorum propterea faciatis si tamen infra annos ipsos a predictis hominibus racione hujusmodi minime receperint cauti existentes ne recolleccio presentis subvencionis hominibus castrorum ipsorum per Curiam nostram imposita inpediatur vel in aliquo differatur. Datum Neapoli per Sparanum de Baro etc., die IV° decembris XII Indiccionis. [P. S.

Cit. G. V. Ciarlanti, *Memorie Historiche del Sannio*, Isernia, 1644, Lib. IV. p. 352, 390; G. M. Galanti, *Descrizione dello stato antico ed attuale del Contado di Molise*, Napoli, 1781, p. 33 and n. 1; both authors read 'de Barro' for 'de Bellovidere'; *I Conti* p. 90 and n. 1.

Durrieu I, p. 315, Charles, prince de Salerne, ff. 5–12, 'Just. Terre Laboris et comitatus Molisii', 29 novembre au 23 décembre, 1283; Capasso, p. 63, with less precise indications.

No. 300. Reg. cit. f. 79. 1284, 14 April, Ind. XII, Naples

Pro domino Theobaldo de Bellovidere.

Scriptum est eidem Justiciario (Justiciario Terre Laboris et Comitatus Molisii) etc. Supplicavit nobis nuper nobilis vir dominus Theobaldus de Bellovidere dilectus familiaris et devotus noster, ut cum ipse Franciscam cognatam suam filiam Hugonis de Molisio et sororem domine Claricie uxoris ejusdem Theobaldi maritare intendat et eam Dureguerre filio domini Odorisii de Pontibus, inter quos verba sunt habita de matrimonio ad invicem contrahendo, tradere in uxorem, [pro maritagio velit] [1] subvencionem sibi fieri propterea a vassallis suis castri Supini, Campibassi, casalis Tappini et casalis Sancti Johannis in Gulfo, que castra et casalia in jurisdicione vestra pro parte dicte uxoris sue tenere et possidere se dicit juxta consuetudinem Regni, benignius mandaremus cujus supplicacionibus inclinati devocioni vestre precipimus quatenus postquam vobis constiterit predictam Franciscam maritatam fore dicto Dureguerre traditam in uxorem sibi pro eodem maritagio a predictis vassallis suis subvencionem congruentem fieri faciatis, si eam propterea vice alia non recepit provisuri actente ne pretextu presenciam recolleccio collectarum nostrarum ipsis hominibus per nostram Curiam impositarum minuatur in

[1] These or similar words seem to have been omitted either in the Register or in the transcript, *ed.*

aliquo vel tardetur. Datum Neapoli per Bartholomeum de Capua etc., die XIV° Aprilis XII[e] Indictionis. [P. S.

Citations as for No. 299.

Durrieu I, p. 315: Charles, prince de Salerne, ff. 76–83 Just. Terre Laboris et comitatus Molisii—12 février au 3 mai 1284, Capasso, p. 63.

No. 301. Reg. Ang. No. 49 (1284 C) contd. f. 119. 1284, April, Ind. XII

De Lellis II, p. 1296: Dominae Mariae de Aquino relictae quondam Domini Rogerii Comitis Celanensis, cui relaxata est medietas fructuum dicti Comitatus pro substentatione sua, et Thomaselli filii sui, et alia medietas applicata pro servitio debito, et reparationibus necessariis provisio, f. 119. [E. M. J.

Cit. *I Conti*, p. 149 and n. 6.

Durrieu I, p. 315: Charles, prince de Salerne, ff. 118–119, 'Just. Aprucii', 6 au 26 avril, 1284; Capasso, p. 63.

No. 302. Reg. cit. f. 123. 1284, April–May, Ind. XII

De Lellis II, p. 1297: Domino Otoni de Tucziaco militi domino Comitatus Albae provisio contra feudatarios suos, f. 123. [E. M. J.

Durrieu I, p. 315: Charles, prince de Salerne, ff. 120–127, 'Capitaneis Aprucii', 26 avril au 31 mai 1284; Capasso, p. 63.

No. 303. Reg. cit. f. 288. ? 1283, Ind. XII

De Lellis I *summarizes the consent to the marriage between Rainald son of the lord Gentile de Sangro and Constantia daughter of the lord Stephen de Anglono, which is also contained in* Reg. Ang. No. 45 (1283 A) f. 75; cf. *ante*, No. 294. [B. M.

Durrieu I, p. 316: Charles, prince de Salerne, ff. 268–355, 'Extravagantes infra regnum', 19 septembre 1283 au 16 mars 1284; Capasso, p. 62.

No. 155. *ante* p. 132.

A fuller summary of this document can now be given through the kind co-operation of Conte Riccardo Filangieri di Candida, to whom sincere thanks are due, in communicating the relevant extract from a MS. belonging to the Società Napoletana di Storia patria: Bolvito, Variorum, vol. V (MS. XXI. D. 5, fol. 62 sq.).

Ven. vir frater Nicolaus Lornus (?) sacre Domus Hospitalis S. Johannis Hierosolimitani in Acon magister, et frater Jacobus de Tassis, Prior Hospitalis S. Johannis Hierosolimitani in Barulo; quod possint extrahere certas salmas frumenti et ordei pro substentatione dicte Domus in Acon, dummodo mittant responsales a nob. viro Rogerio de Sancto Severino, Comite Marsici in Regno Hierosolimitano Balio et Vicario generali.

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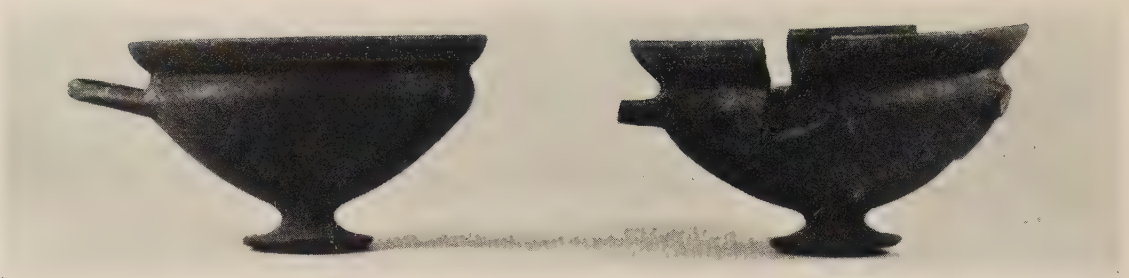

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(*J. B. Ward Perkins*)

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(*J. B. Ward Perkins*)

(*J. B. Ward Perkins*)

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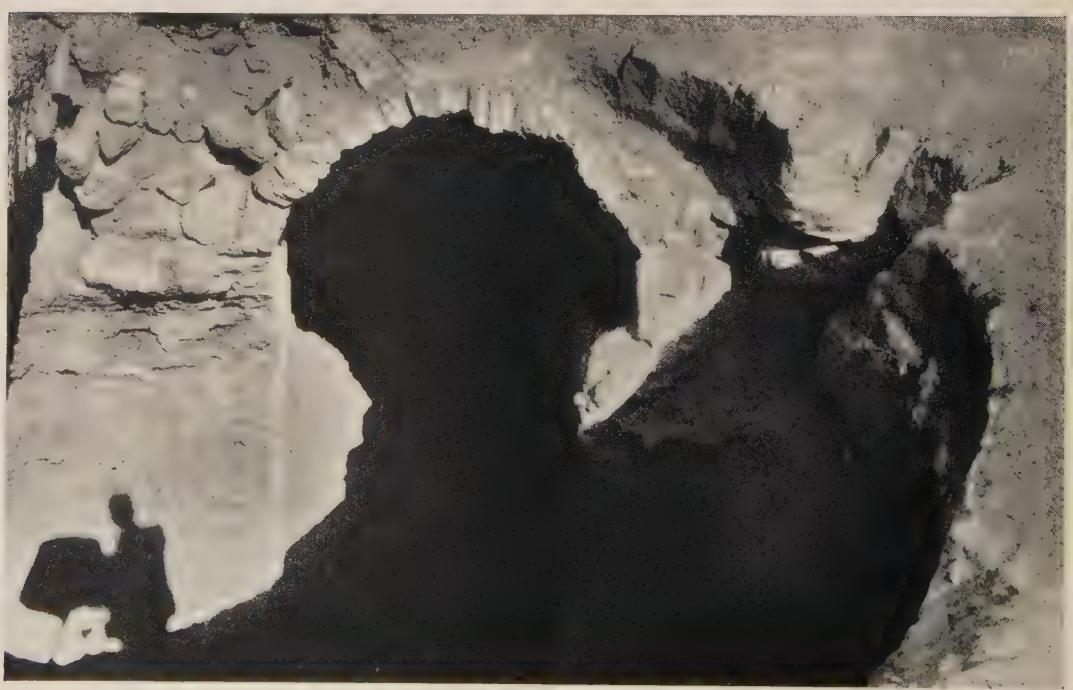

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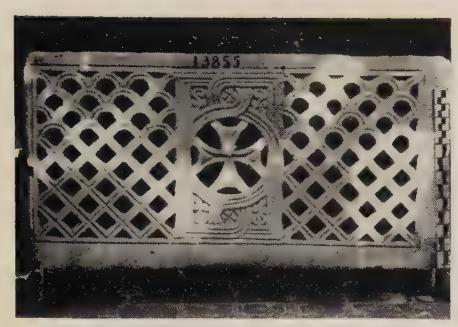

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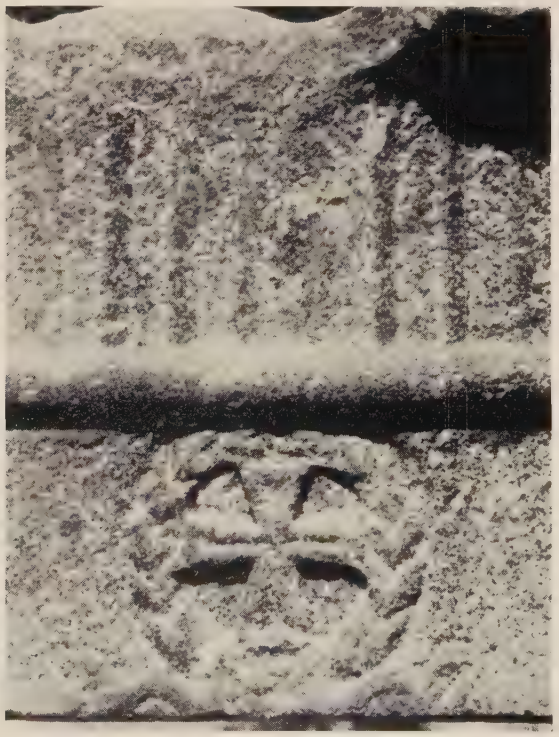

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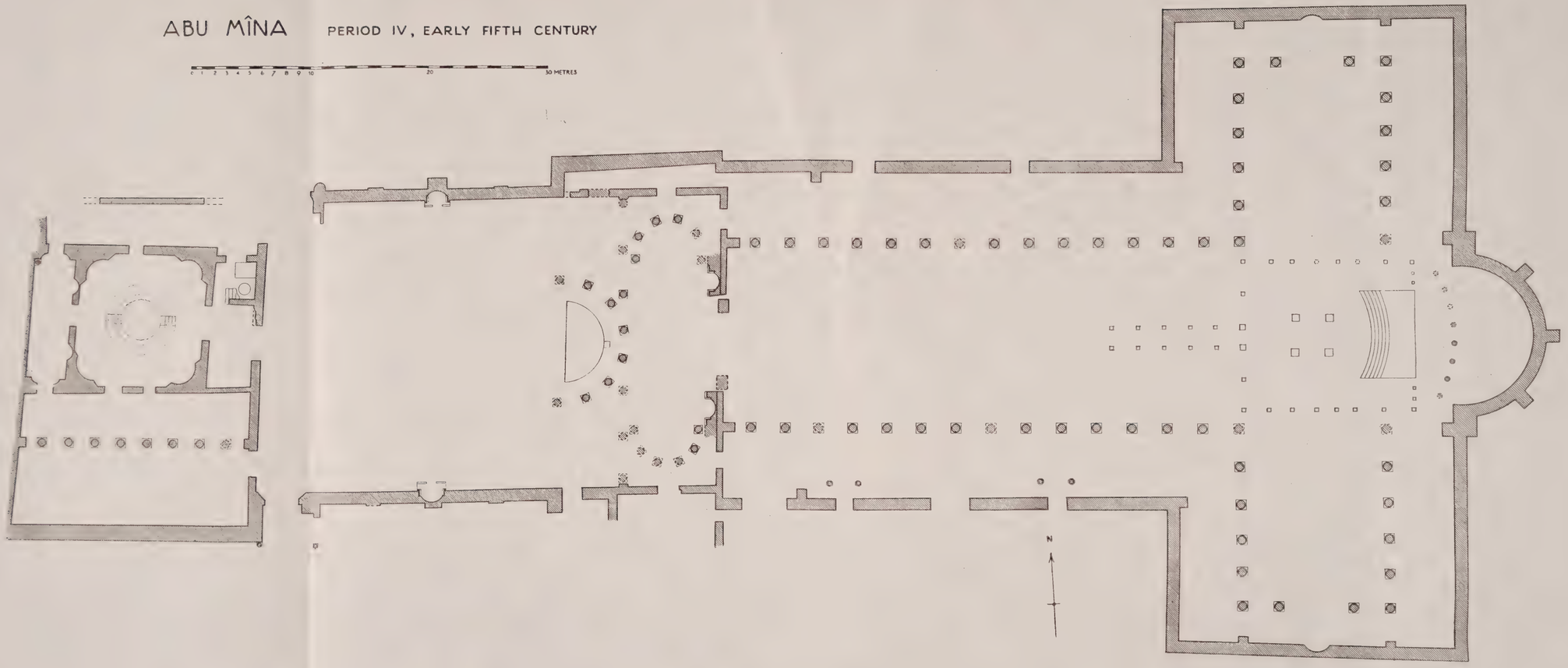
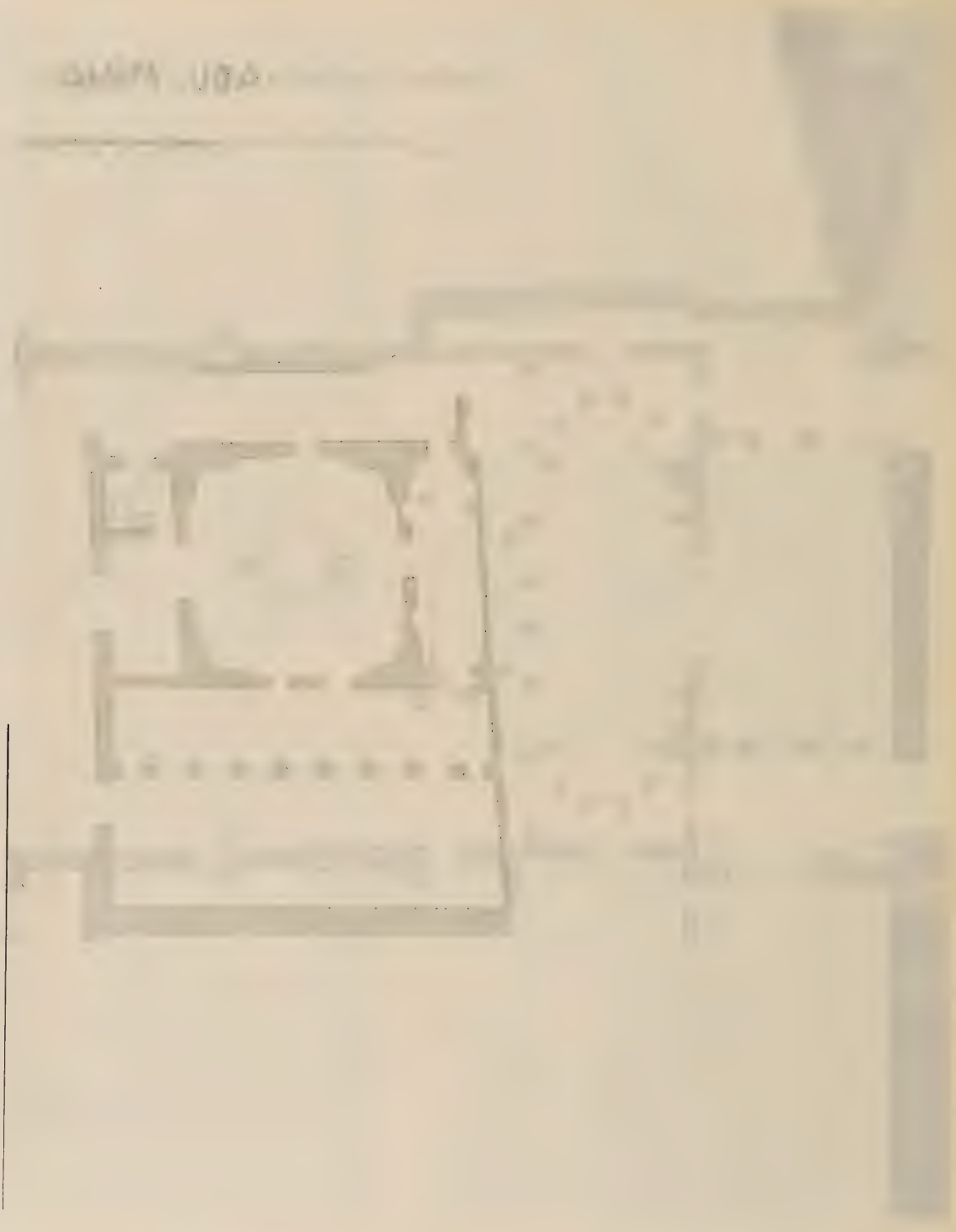
ABU MÎNA

PERIOD IV, EARLY FIFTH CENTURY





Ministry of Public Instruction

San Salvatore, Spoleto - Presbytery.

PLATE XII

J. B. W. P.

1. San Salvatore, Spoleto Base of N.E Pier.

J. B. W. P.

2. San Salvatore, Spoleto: Base of N.W. Pier.

J. B. W. P.

1. San Salvatore, Spoleto: Base of S.E. Pier.

Erik Fischer

2. Foundation of N.E. Angle Column, and (*right*) Transverse Footing of the Apse. The Dark Streak above the Scale is Undisturbed Soil.

J. B. W. P.

3. Abutment of the Apse (*left*) upon the S. Half-Column and Base. The Arrow marks Undisturbed Soil.

Ministry of Public Instruction

SAN SALVATORE, SPOLETO

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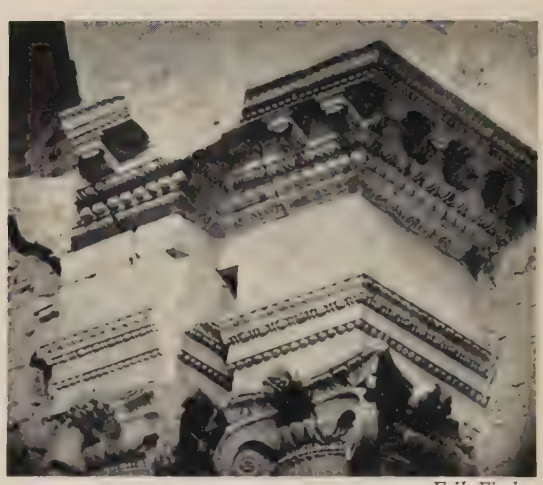

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2. N.W. ANGLE OF PRESBYTERY, DETAIL.

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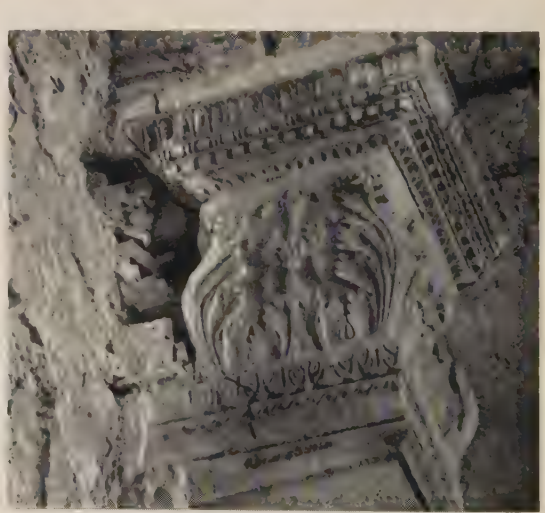
3. N. PRESBYTERY COLONNADE, DETAIL.



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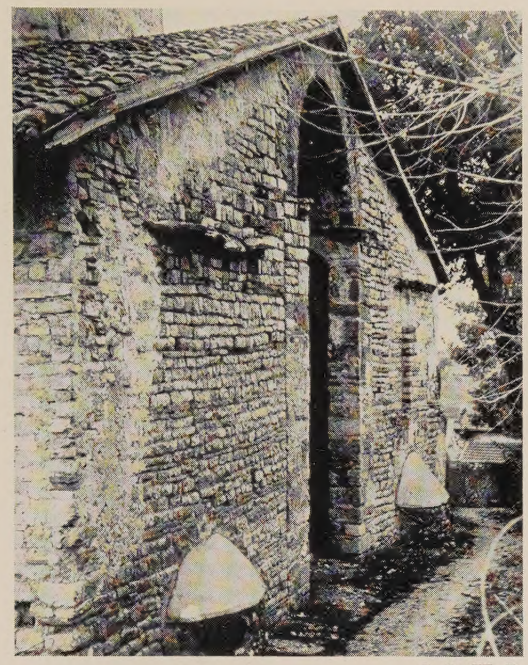

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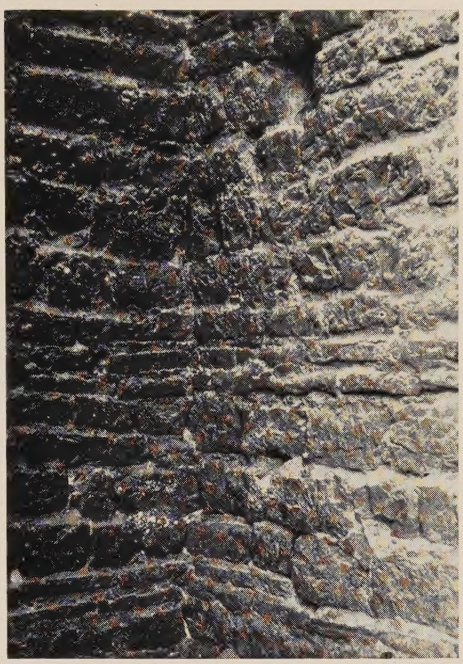

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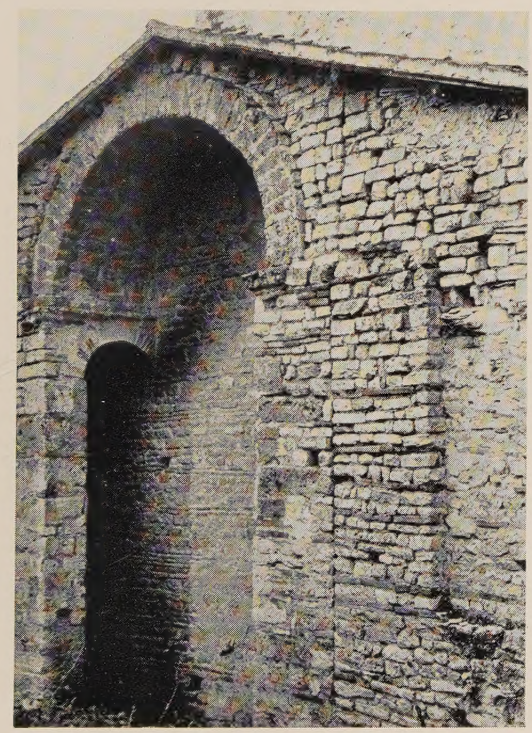

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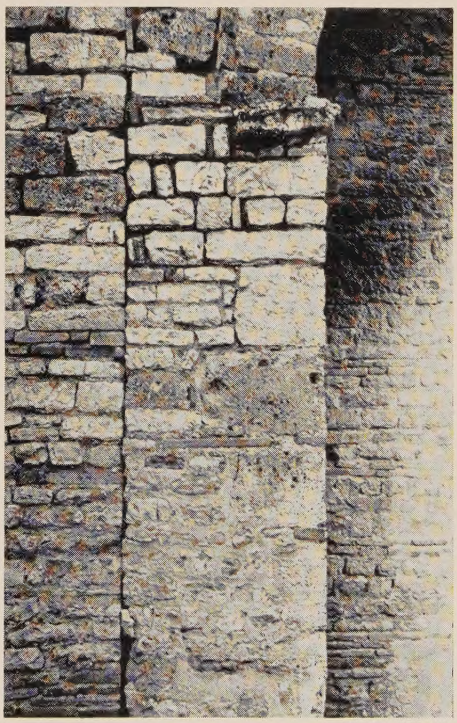

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SAN SALVATORE, SPOLETO: EAST FAÇADE. 1, the central arch; 2, S. jamb of the central arch built against (*left*) the angle of the S.E. chapel.